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Understanding social influence differently: A discursive study of livery yards

Submitted for the degree of PhD in Social Psychology on August 14th 2013

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Abstract

The present thesis offers a synthetic, discursive psychological investigation into social influence, as manifested in an everyday context – a livery yard in the south-west of England. Drawing on insights from Conversation Analysis, Discursive Psychology and Critical Discursive Psychology, the thesis demonstrates the limitations of traditional social psychological approaches to social influence, especially in terms of our understanding of how influence manifests itself in everyday life. The thesis argues that in order to understand social influence in practice it is important to study language in action, that is, the discursive and interactional practices through which influence is produced and through which people orient towards the possibility of influence. Also, the thesis examines how influence is mediated by other social actions including the demonstration of competence, exercise of leadership or the production of identity.

The research presented in the thesis is based on the analysis of over 200 hours of audio and video data collected over eleven months of ethnographic work in a livery yard. The livery yard was chosen as the appropriate setting because social influence, in terms of giving, accepting or resisting advice, is a frequent concern both for the owners and the users of the livery yard. Also, the nature of the interactions in a livery yard, and the complexity of the social relationships between the management, staff and the customers meant that different forms of advice giving and orientations to influence could be readily observed, recorded and analysed.

By examining how social influence is produced, oriented to and resisted in an everyday context, and by promoting a synthetic discursive approach to this quintessential social psychological topic, the thesis offers a timely critique of traditional research into

social influence and contributes to the broader project of re-specifying social psychology in discursive, social constructionist terms.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis will develop a new perspective on social influence. Social influence is a central topic for social psychologists. Some, such as Tedeschi and Bonoma (1972), suggest that social influence is the core topic of social psychology itself as both are fundamentally about how people affect each other. Social influence is sold to students and the public as holding the potential for understanding issues such as conformity to cults that have resulted in mass suicides; how best to advertise products; and to organisations as holding the key to how leaders can best motivate followers. In this thesis the focus is on less dramatic forms of influence but forms that are arguably more relevant to the everyday lives of individuals. For example, I was recently asked to extend a short term contract and teach for a longer term in a college. Despite having a number of other commitments (including writing this thesis) and not really wanting to extend my contract, I came out of the meeting and agreed that yes I would continue to teach. Through exploring such everyday events, the key focus of this thesis is to develop an approach to and a way of understanding social influence that is relevant to the more mundane aspects of people's lives.

Social psychologists have been struggling to understand social influence for over 100 years now and have generated multiple theoretical explanations for this effect (detailed further in Chapter 2, page 31). For example, in agreeing to teach I might have been conforming to social norms in the college, the desire to be liked by colleagues, or to please students. Sometimes conformity is treated as a normal and adaptive feature of social life; sometimes as a negative, maladaptive process that stifles human autonomy

and individuality. The difficulty that social psychologists seem to have created is that there are so many possible explanations and so many factors seem to be involved that making sense of findings is incredibly challenging.

One resource for understanding social influence that has been under-explored is that of language. This thesis sets out to examine whether social influence considered from a language based perspective can provide a more useful understanding of social influence within everyday life. This opening chapter sets the background for a thesis that explores social influence by reframing it to emphasise understandings or uses of social influence by people themselves through language. This is a subtle but important differentiation from traditional approaches to social influence. The approach here assumes that the meanings of social influence can be changed by people themselves rather than that social influence has a fixed and definable meaning that theorists can know before participants. This social constructionist approach views ideas generated by both lay people and psychologists around social influence as a kind of sense making that gives meaning to what social influence is.

This chapter presents the context to the thesis. It explores firstly the research problem through examining how social influence has been defined and the openings for a language focused approach to influence. It then introduces the rationale for the thesis, before outlining the research aims. Next the chapter introduces the data and context through which social influence will be explored, clarifies the scope of the thesis, and finally outlines the thesis structure.

The research problem: Defining Social Influence¹

Numerous definitions have been offered for social influence over the years. A few of these definitions are considered briefly here in order to draw out some of the problems that are presented by social influence as a topic of study. As will become apparent through this thesis, it can be argued that how social influence is understood sheds a particular light on why people describe themselves as being persuaded in their everyday lives. A brief reflection on the challenges of defining social influence serves here to introduce the main research problem posed in this thesis; the ambiguity of the concept of social influence and the level to which the study of social influence can be distinguished from other areas of social psychology.

In the first edition of the 'Handbook of Social Psychology' (1954/1968) G.W. Allport espoused what has become one of the most classical definitions of both social psychology and social influence. He proposed that social psychology was:

'an attempt to understand and explain how the thoughts, feeling, and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others.' (G.W. Allport 1954/1968, p.3).

This definition appeared in the first edition of the 'Handbook of Social Psychology', a book that sought to distinguish social psychology as a field of study in its own right. However, Allport's definition of social psychology is frequently cited as a definition of social influence. Indeed, it was used by Turner (1990) to define social influence as it had been

¹ For the purposes of this thesis, persuasion is considered as a form of social influence. Some researchers have suggested that these are separate fields (Petty and Brinol 2008). However, Pratkanis (2007) suggests that the two are really one and the same field, but argues that the term social influence is less threatening.

studied until that point, which he contrasted with his group approach to psychology.

Versions were also postulated by Feldman (2001) and Kenrick, Neuberg and Cialdini (2002) in textbook definitions of what can actually be defined as social influence.

Nevertheless, if you put these words into an internet search engine definitions of social psychology itself rather than social influence, are returned. Drawing on the same source for the definition, Robert Farr (1991) suggested that this was a clear assertion of the concept of social psychology itself, as did Moscovici and Markova (2006). The confusion in the reporting and re-use of early definitions serves here to highlight the ambiguity of what social influence might be. Within many undergraduate textbooks and overviews of social influence it is not social influence that is itself defined, but rather under the title of social influence come definitions of concepts that are often studied within this 'field' such as conformity, obedience, compliance and at times, persuasion.

The problem of defining social influence is further illuminated if we explore what G.W.

Allport's definition implied as an understanding of social influence. This definition suggested that social influence involves a change in people and / or their behaviour created by other people. In order to capture the multiple phenomena that social psychologists have treated as influence, the definition is inevitably broad in terms of what might be considered as influence. However, the breadth of the definition makes it very difficult to differentiate whether a particular phenomenon is social influence or not.

Indeed, it might be suggested that as people interact with each other they are constantly moderating their talk to accommodate the other person and thus are influenced at a moment by moment level under this definition.

An alternative approach was presented by Turner (1990). Turner suggested that social influence was a specific form of group influence operating through social norms. He stated that:

'Influence relates to the process whereby people agree or disagree about appropriate behaviour, form, maintain or change social norms and the social conditions that give rise to, and the effects of, such norms.' (Turner 1990, p.2).

Turner developed an argument that emphasised to a greater degree the complexity of social relationships involved in social influence. Where Allport's definition referred directly to 'individuals' as being influenced by a mysterious other, Turner's approach included reference to the social relations that individuals might be involved in. So Turner's definition allowed for individuals not only to be either involved in influencing others or being influenced by them, but also suggested that all people are involved in producing social norms or at least contribute to the circumstances that lead to these norms. In this way Turner introduced a different approach that took pains to emphasise the group nature of social influence. However, as we will see in Chapter 2, this emphasis on the group and its importance in mediating influence is approached in very different ways by social psychologists.

Definitions of social influence have generally remained broad in order to include the vast array of research topics that are produced in its name. More recent definitions have attempted in increasingly complex ways to be even more expansive. These definitions include effects and relationships between others through group and social contexts in a broader sense, as researchers move on to consider the importance of social context. For example Gass and Seiter (2011, p.33) suggested that:

'persuasion involves one or more persons who are engaged in the activity of creating, reinforcing, modifying or extinguishing beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, and/or behaviours within the constraints of a given communication context'.

This slightly nuanced definition highlights how research approaches have begun to change to include an increasing focus on the importance of the communication context, at least in some areas, and this argument will be developed further in Chapters 2 and 3. Indeed, it will be suggested that the increasing emphasis placed on the communication context by researchers such as Glass and Seiter, reflects an important change in social influence research which opens the door to a more detailed study of language and communication. Again, the widening of the definition gives rise to the problem of specifying exactly what social influence is or is not. Indeed, it might still be difficult to say that influence is ever not happening as beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations and /or behaviours can be said to constantly change within communication contexts.

Other researchers, including Ng and Bradac (1993) had very much begun to emphasise the importance of language. Extending this language focus, the beginnings of social influence research in a discursive vein has been provided by Billig (1987/1996) and Hepburn and Potter (2011a), who as we shall see in Chapter 3 (page 81), have attempted to explore how a discursive approach can develop understandings of persuasion and influence through threats, respectively. Nevertheless, although these approaches highlight issues such as what a threat might be or the difficulties of pinning down how rhetoric works, the problem remains of understanding what is or is not social influence. This thesis will work with the fundamental problem of exploring through language what

social influence itself might be. It will be suggested that it is this question that is key to explaining notions of social influence within everyday lives.

Rationale for the research

The problem of understanding social influence as read through the ambiguities of its definition begins to suggest why it is interesting to explore social influence further from a language based perspective. Indeed, the relationship between language and social influence is clearly obvious. People talk and interact with each other on a daily basis frequently wanting the other to agree with them. Much of traditional social influence research and current work has focused on the language used in influence for example, examining the most effective design of persuasive messages (such as whether or not a conclusion should be included, discussed in Chapter 2, page 37). It is not just the design of messages, but frequently the outcome of an influence attempt is verbalised, or the source might even suggest directly that they 'tried to persuade' the other person. Hence it is arguable that language is central to social influence and the way in which influence is understood.

There are a range of debates that highlight how a greater focus on language in the study of social influence is not straight forward. For example, this thesis will explore the different understanding of language by discursive researchers to that used in traditional research. In taking a social constructionist approach language becomes more than a vehicle for communication (or persuasion), but a location for developing and changing new meanings. Thus messages themselves might be active in the sense of being persuasive, but how another person responds to a statement is also important to

ascertain whether an utterance is treated as being a persuasive message or not on this particular occasion. The treatment of an utterance as persuasive or not might in turn convey particular advantages or disadvantages to different people involved in the communication. Other issues include a questioning of the level at which the concept of social influence is examined. For example, does an entire process of social influence need to be in evidence to study meanings of social influence?

One of the most intriguing challenges that constructionist and discursive approaches have brought to cognitive psychology is the question of social reality. In terms of social influence, the issue of social reality has been raised as important, for example in obtaining a baseline to work out where influence has happened. However, it is a concept that proves very elusive to pin down. Social constructionist approaches challenge this by suggesting that social reality is itself a construction. This interesting dilemma is also discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3.

The above new range of questions comes from the clash that has been in evidence in social psychology over the last 30 years between social constructionist and social cognition approaches to understanding human behaviour. For further information about these broader debates the reader is referred to Harre and Gillett (1994); Potter (2000); Still and Costall (1991), Gergen (1973) and Gergen (2001) among numerous others. These texts highlight key issues around methodological effects on the issue or debate that is being studied and highlight some of the problems of inferring how thinking operates from the study of behaviour that plague cognitive psychologists.

Despite the restrictions of cognitive approaches, an important issue for social psychologists in the development of knowledge has been the emphasis on social psychology as being recognised as a 'scientific' discipline yet something that is also relevant for people's lives (see also Chapter 2). It is arguable that what has been understood as 'scientific' and associated research conventions has restricted psychologists from developing and exploring alternative research methods. The constraints of writing and publishing for particular audiences has been highlighted through work on the sociology of knowledge revealing strong conventions that are difficult to overlook (see Gilbert and Mulkay 1982; Gilbert and Mulkay 1984). These research conventions frequently prize hypothetico-deductive methods at the expense of alternative methods. However, over recent years qualitative approaches and in particular, discursive approaches have developed substantially in terms of how they are understood and the different insights that can be drawn from them. Given this position, it is with some excitement that we are now able to explore further concepts such as social influence with the technologies of a more advanced understanding of how knowledge might work. Nevertheless, methods are constantly evolving and even within discursive psychology as we will see in Chapters 3 and 4 there are conflicts in how discursive psychology is applied. Thus this thesis also sets about developing a synthetic approach to discursive research; tackling and raising further issues around how these new methods can be combined.

Research Aims

The debates around cognitive and social constructionist approaches to knowledge and the more recent developments in discursive psychology provide both a rationale for and tools through which to ask the question:

How might social influence be understood from a social constructionist perspective?

This thesis aims to:

- take a language based approach to explore a specific everyday context (livery yards) and consider the different picture this might create in terms of understanding social influence, compared to traditional understandings of influence;
- contribute to the broader project of re-specifying social psychology and showing what insights discursive methods can offer; and
- develop the use of synthetic discursive approaches and explore the value of considering multiple discursive tools in analysing data.

In the light of the rationale presented above, this thesis will also meet the following objectives:

- offer a critique of traditional approaches to social influence;
- develop an integrated synthetic approach to discursive psychology that is able to capture aspects of social influence; and
- highlight the particular issues of social influence important in people's everyday lives in the livery yard.

Empirical context: Livery Yards and social influence

In order to meet the research aims of capturing social influence within people's everyday lives, careful consideration was required of an appropriate context for the empirical study, which resulted in a focus on livery yards. The livery yard is a place where people can pay to keep their horses. A range of alternative contexts were considered, including local council meetings, transgenerational influence of cultural stories, political debates, and livery yards (places where people pay to keep their horses). Rather than entering into the complexities of cultural debates, as in the study of transgenerational influence, the livery yard offered a more mundane setting where social influence was frequently stated by people as important for their everyday lives. Council meetings were excluded as although council decisions are relevant to everyday lives, they were thought to represent a 'special case' rather than an everyday phenomenon. Meetings were more occasional, and occurred for a particular purpose, whereas in livery yards the same people meet on an almost daily basis as part of their everyday lives.

The livery yard provided a particularly useful context for a discursive study of social influence. Firstly, the regular meeting and socialisation of people over time makes it possible to study an established and naturally bounded group. Secondly, individuals entering this group situation often express feeling pressured to change their ways of caring for their horse. Indeed, social life in the livery yard is built around the exchange of opinions and ideas about equine care, training, and riding. It is a context where exchanging opinions and exercising (or resisting) influence is central in everyday practices. Not a day passes when there isn't some issue to be negotiated or solved, from injuries through to why a horse won't jump or even what type of equipment to use; rarely with reference to the formal codes of practice (e.g. DEFRA, 2009). Rather, livery yards become

places where the opinions of horse owners, staff, proprietors, vets, trainers, chiropractors, physiotherapists, equine behaviourists, natural horsemanship practitioners and many other people's ideas converge. It presents a microcosm context that still has the complexities of everyday life. There is a great deal of talk in livery yards and so this context is particularly suited to a study of discourse. The livery yard as an empirical context also has considerable scope for exploring how social influence works in the context of multiple relationships that people have with each other. For example, relationships between horse owners affect how the yard is perceived or enjoyed (what Finsterwalder and Kuppelwieser (2012) term customer to customer relationships, which has received limited attention). There are opportunities to explore different effects of power relationships between staff, the yard owner and more and less knowledgeable liverymen. Finally, the debated nature of knowledge (Birke, 2007; Birke and Latimer, 2009; Birke, Hockenhull & Creighton, 2010; Savvides, 2012) within the livery yard appears particularly suited to a discursive study. Thus there is a particular opportunity to study the relationship of influence and context which as Chapter 2 will reveal, has become a key issue in social influence research.

A considerable amount of preparatory work was carried out to explore what some of these potential issues might be before engaging in the substantive research project. This included exploring how livery yards are portrayed on internet forums. Internet forum discussions of livery yards include frequent discussions of difficulties, such as experiences of yard owners 'interfering' with the care of their horses. Extract 1, below, typifies how these posts present livery yards as problematic.

Extract 1: This is the 8th post on a thread entitled 'Crazy livery yard owners/managers....'. Spelling and grammar as per original.²

oh my, well we have been moving from yards to yards for the last 5 years! It sounds bad yes but we just find people who treat us awfully. The most recent was a woman who obviously knew very little about owning horses but would contradict anything we would do with our own ponies. We were paying for extra feed and hay which we ended up buying and distributing ourselves. Our ponies were completely ignored by her and eventually she wanted them to be put into a mud wallow for a month!! so we recently left due to the treatment we and our animals were getting

Extract 1 comes towards the end of a long thread discussing the problems of behaviour in livery yards. Most interesting is the suggestion that livery yards can include constant contradiction, again suggesting that they are places where influence (or attempts at influence at least) is rife.

The theme of livery yards as troubled environments was also seen in reviews conducted of the equine press. For example, during the period of data collection, Your Horse in March 2010 published an article specifically entitled "Surviving Livery Yard Hell" (Sharpless, March 2010) which highlighted the problems of horse owners being unable to care for their horses as they want and the constant and oppressive advice that they received. They argued that this results in people constantly moving their horses, and unpleasant atmospheres, all bad for business and the mental health of horse owners. In August 2011, Your Horse revisits this issue, highlighting that there are some yard owners 'who fail to ensure the mental and physical welfare of horses in their care, and who are unwilling to deal with situations when some owners cause misery for others.' (Home Sweet Home, August 2011 p.70). The emphasis in these articles is frequently on the responsibility of the yard owner to sort out these problems. In contrast, others, such as

² This extract was selected as it most clearly illustrates the problematic nature of livery yards. The full thread is available on request. The source was a public forum.

Kate Large writing in 'Horse' (February, 2010), question whether yard politics is an inevitable consequence of people who might be from diverse backgrounds coming together. She notes the diversity of people engaged in livery yards:

'some of us have families and some have high flying jobs; some have every new piece of kit under the sun while others struggle to make ends meet; some want only to hack around sedately, others have their eyes set on making the dressage nationals. Given all that, it's a wonder any of us get on.' (Large , 2010, p.71).

Kate suggests that yard managers should be praised for managing the complexities of these diversities. This apparently mundane setting is central to the day to day living of these horse owners, and indeed can cause people a great deal of upset when it goes wrong.

Preliminary discussions with horse owners and equine professionals revealed similar themes. For example, in one pilot discussion a horse owner described how despite having always used very particular behavioural techniques, she found herself becoming more traditional in her approach to horses as a result of moving to a new yard. Thus relevant to understanding this complex scenario is developing understandings of how groups affect individuals. Accounts also raise issues of other's "telling you what to do" or providing "unwanted advice", regardless of the source. One frustrated vet told of a range of stories where his advice had been discounted on the basis of "alternative" equine professionals, and a frustration where owners tried out multiple different possible

treatments rather than sticking with or following through a course of veterinary treatment. It is these types of events and discussions of problems that will form the basis for the data collected here.

The empirical problem here is the anxiety around being influenced or persuaded by other people in livery yards that seems to be presented in discussions with people associated with livery yards, publications and on the internet. These environments have received no formal study (The Healey Centre 2004). The thin textbooks available on setting up Livery businesses make reference to the sensitivity required in managing “clients”, but do not draw on peer reviewed evidence of how this might be done (e.g. Eastwood, Jensen and Jordon, 2007). As such, livery yards offer a clear opportunity to explore influence in a more mundane setting and yet where people describe it as having significant effects on their personal lives.

This thesis focuses on a particular livery yard and is based on data collected as a participant observer within the yard over an 11 month period. During this time numerous notes were collected, photographs taken, interviews conducted and video and audio data obtained, in an ethnographic manner based on my experience of being within the livery yard. Although I held social influence in mind while collecting the data, the approach was to collect as broad a range of data as possible, so the focus was not restricted to potential influence ‘events’. These data were subsequently catalogued and analysed using a synthetic discursive approach to psychology (outlined in Chapter 4, p.89). The analysis explored episodes of talk that seemed to me to relate to what traditionally has been

identified as social influence (based on my reading of the literature). In this way it was possible to generate a rich range of data sources and to corroborate information in different ways with multiple data sources. The main focus in selecting the data for analysis was on the audio and video data, with the notes and photographs used as background material to support the analysis.

Limitations of Scope

This thesis will tackle the issue of re-examining social influence by focusing specifically on how social influence appears in people's everyday lives. This section outlines what can be expected from the particular methods and approach applied in this thesis.

Firstly, the focus on a particular context - that of a livery yard – allows the thesis to develop a clearer understanding of how social influence operates in particular institutional contexts and makes it possible to engage in greater depth with the specific meanings relevant to this context. However, there is an unfortunate trade off in that it will only be possible to tentatively extrapolate some broader principles that might be important to expand how social influence might be tackled in other organisations. These extrapolations are possible at a conceptual level, challenging understandings of social influence, but a detailed prescription of how social influence might operate in different contexts is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The context of the livery yard also prescribes the types of social influence that it is possible to study here. This is not a cult, or an advertising campaign, but a group of people concerned with the care of their horses. As such, the types of influence that are available for study include group pressures to care for animals in a particular way, or to value aspects of equine welfare. Thus this thesis will capture mostly dyadic and group conversations that attempt to solve particular problems. It does not focus on talk about advertising nor political influence directly. Rather the focus is on face to face situations where the presence of the other is immediate, rather than ephemeral.

This context also lends itself to reveal a particular form of vague power structure. Power in the livery yard is not as formally recognisable as say, obedience in military contexts, where a particular individual is often acknowledged as a clear and ultimate leader. In the livery yard the yard owner is responsible for the daily care of horses and therefore makes many of the decisions, but this power is shared to some extent with the horses' owners, who retain the power of choosing to have their horses in that environment. This collaboration and ambiguity in the power structures is arguably an important feature of the livery yard. Where other research might focus on clearer structures of power, this thesis allows for understanding of social influence in less clear cut situations to be explored, a particular niche that has received more limited focus (see Chapters 2 and 4). This research explores the ways that particular individuals' emerge as having greater or less power within the livery yard context.

Focusing on this specific context allows the scope to explore and trace to a greater extent some of the particular influences that emerged in such group forms of situations. Not just those that were immediately discussed in detail, but also those that were referred to in a more general or vague sense. It was possible to draw on background data to contextualise the information used, and the analysis. Further, as the study was conducted in a particular context, it was possible to explore influence as it is affected and constructed by that context. This was important particularly given the emphasis on the effects of context that will be presented in Chapter 2.

This thesis focuses on specific areas of social influence that emerge from the data, given the background readings and understandings of social influence presented in Chapter 2. Thus the topics of focus are not driven by an interest in specific domains of social influence, but rather a more general, almost caricature nature of the notion of social influence develops from reading the literature in Chapter 2, and is explored in the empirical chapters in terms of how this was displayed in people's everyday interactions in their social lives. This approach means that a detailed analysis of the strengths and limitations of specific theories, and how these theories might be reconceptualised or may benefit from a social constructionist approach, cannot be done. Instead, the research will capture some of the conceptual differences of how social influence could be understood by social psychologists and how meanings are used and done by participants as they interact in their everyday lives.

The nature of the data collection through ethnographic methods was inevitably messy. Data collection involved personal emersion within the research context, in a way that enabled me to really develop a depth of understanding of what it was like to be within

the livery yard, and to observe phenomena that were relevant to social influence. In no way should the reader expect an objective analysis of what social influence is, or is not. Instead, the research process benefited from my own experiences and interpretations and so is able to offer a selective, but unique perspective on how social influence could begin to be seen in new ways.

Inevitably, reformulating social influence in this way was restricted through the use of discursive methods. Further and in order to keep the data manageable, the main focus of the data for analysis was on the audio recordings, with some comments and observations from notes and videos. Although this meant that a rigorous analysis could not be done of all of the ethnographic data, a focus on specific extracts as they appeared relevant enabled detailed analysis of key elements of the data. Inevitably, this also limited the research in the sense of not being able to examine, for example, the ways in which the different movements or uses of space affected different people within the yard. Such approaches have been left for future research projects. Further, it was not possible to follow up on all interactions for example with other professionals, such as vets.

Using discourse analysis as a form of analysis also limited the research so that for example, stories of social influence were not analysed. This meant that there was less emphasis on the emotional responses that people might have had to episodes of influence, or perhaps questions about what people were thinking, or thought, as they experienced, enacted or referred to influence in some way.

In re-working ideas of social influence, based on this data set and approach it was not possible to detail a specific model, or outline in detail all possible meanings and uses of social influence, but rather this thesis raises general questions about alternative approaches to viewing social influence, and explores some insights that a discursive analysis might reveal.

Thesis Structure

This chapter has situated the following thesis in terms of the underpinning academic debates of how social influence might be understood. That is, within the debate between traditional experimental approaches to understanding psychology and what discursive psychology might offer. This chapter also introduced the empirical problem of influence in livery yards, which will be explored as an example of how a discursive approach might be developed. Chapter 2 explores in detail how the study of social influence has developed over the last 120 years, the ideas and theories that have been proposed, where these leave our understanding of what social influence is and what now needs to be studied. Chapter 3 presents discursive psychology as a feasible alternative, which places a different perspective on how some of these traditional ideas can be understood, opening up a new layer of understanding and questioning previous assumptions. It introduces a synthetic approach to discursive psychology that develops a clearer approach to understanding context as a whole and observing directly how meanings are constructed, rather than translating these into experiments.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological approach in detail and introduces the context of the focal livery yard. This chapter extends from the theoretical approach presented in

Chapter 3 to clarify how a synthetic approach to discursive psychology will be applied in Chapters 5-7.

Chapter 5 involves a detailed study of a 5 minute interaction where people are discussing illness observed in one of the horses. This conversation was selected as it appeared initially to be a situation where people might influence each other. However, analysis reveals that these traditional understandings are not comprehensive enough and an alternative conceptualisation of influence is offered. Chapter 6 attempts to more generally identify practices of influence from across the data, and explore in detail how particular indirect practices of influence can have significant effects for how people's selves are displayed in interaction. Chapter 7 considers further how the self seems to relate to influence, exploring leadership, examining how influence and identities are related in discourse and examining how some meanings of influence appear intrinsic to different identities. The overall purpose was to examine what new insights a language based approach would provide. Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, summarises the findings of this study and the implications of representing social influence from a synthetic discursive perspective.

This thesis opens the door to exciting new ways of conceptualising social influence, one of the most fundamental concepts of social psychology. It will examine directly how people relate to social influence in their everyday lives. It provides new insights for social psychologists to enable them to be critical of their theories and to begin to tease apart assumed knowledge of influence. It advances the foundations of an approach that can

draw directly on the meaning making process of people that occurs within their everyday lives.

Chapter 2: Psychological research on social influence

Central to the topic of social influence is the question of the extent of our individuality and independence. We live in a society organised through multiple cultural practices including institutions of marriage, practices of schooling and codes of politeness. Within society we are exposed to a multitude of persuasive voices advocating how we should organise our lives, what opinions we should hold, what products we should purchase and so on. Thus it is possible to question the extent to which we are ever not “under the influence” of others and further, the extent to which it is really helpful to consider people as separate individuals in understanding social influence.

The enmeshment between people and their social lives raises the important question of how to distinguish between what is or is not considered social influence. Depending on the ways social influence is delimited, social influence can be considered as almost synonymous with social psychology itself (Allen, 1965; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Levine & Russo, 1987; Levy, Collins, & Nail, 1998; Maass & Clark, 1984; Nail, MacDonald, & Levy, 2000; Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme, & Blackstone, 1994) as intimated in Chapter 1 (Page 11). This is reflected in Latane’s (1981) definition:

‘In its broadest sense, social influence includes almost all of social psychology. It can be thought of as any change, whether physiological, attitudinal, emotional, or behavioral, that occurs in one person as a result of the real, implied, or imagined presence of others’ (Latane, 1981, p.345).

The field of social influence is expansive, and this chapter selects key studies to illustrate the range of approaches that have been taken by social psychologists. Studies with the

greatest relevance to person to person influence in small groups of the type that might be found in livery yards will be discussed. These studies include research on persuasion, group effects on individuals and leadership influence. In preparation for re-examining social influence from a discursive light in Chapter 3, the main aims are to draw out from the social psychology literature the:-

1. meanings surrounding social influence;
2. methods used to study social influence; and
3. theoretical assumptions regarding language and context.

Some areas such as minority influence research (related to influence between groups rather than within group influence) are less relevant. So whilst their contribution to social influence research is recognised they receive less coverage here.

The current chapter includes two main sections. Firstly, a chronological review of the social influence literature which explores how the central debates and research strands have shaped a research paradigm and conceptual understanding of social influence as a process. This section is organised around approximate dates for ease of reading and to signpost the general trends and changes in research. However, these dates should not be read as fixed points where changes occurred. The review begins at the end of the 19th century, a common starting point for reviews of social influence. However as Billig (1987/1996) reminds us, issues of persuasion have concerned humanity for centuries. Billig traces persuasion back as far as Socrates and explores the ancient art of rhetoric. The impact of rhetoric has only really entered into social psychology over the last 30 years as a part of the “turn to language” and so rhetoric is considered in more detail in Chapter

3 (page 75), which focuses on language. Secondly, this chapter considers the rationale for making language more central to the study of social influence.

Chronological Review

Early social influence research (pre 1950's)

To understand the development of methods and ideas that constitute the field of social influence today, it is useful to reflect on the early debates surrounding the emergence of social psychology as a separate field at the end of the 19th century. Appropriate topics, methods and levels of analysis were subject to considerable debate which in turn affected which areas were followed up by social psychologists. For example, early topics such as hypnosis (e.g. Jean Martin Charcot) fell out of favour, in part due to their association with observational and psychodynamic methods which did not fit with the emerging 'scientific' approach that favoured experimental methods. Nevertheless, a key theme evident in research on hypnosis that can be seen to underpin much subsequent research and conceptualising of social influence was the fear that people could be made to do things against their will. It was a fear of a Master → Slave relationship, of the devil taking charge (Laurens, 2007).

In contrast to the theological and philosophical approaches of previous centuries, broader themes such as making social psychology an acceptable and legitimate science meant that psychologists sought to find methods that could produce findings that went beyond common sense. Experimental approaches were largely considered the best solution. The experimental approach was exemplified in its infancy by Norman Triplett (1898), who conducted a range of laboratory tests exploring the effects of others on performance. In

one study of 40 children, participants turned a handle faster when working in front of an audience than when working either alone or next to another worker. In addition to observing this main effect of an audience on performance Triplett commented on a range of factors that moderated this effect, such as age and gender. Thus the stage was set for the development of an approach that could isolate and classify factors involved in human behaviour in a way that seemed less subjective and which appeared to offer clear and defined understandings of human behaviour.

The importance of method affected the level at which people sought to examine the effects of social influence. Psychologists such as Gardener Murphy (1929) and Floyd Allport (1924) conducted experimental research that focused on individuals acting together or alone. They sought to move away from theories that might suggest some kind of 'mystical properties' of groups and to present social psychology as an objectively observable science.

There were a few dissidents to this individual, experimental focus (e.g. Le Bon 1896; McDougall 1908 and Ross 1908). These dissident researchers suggested that people might act differently when in groups. They valued observational methods and argued that social psychology should be more in line with sociology. These researchers proposed that the special properties of groups were important to consider and argued that social psychological concepts (such as attitudes) were distinct from individual psychology and intrinsically related to the group (McDougall, 1908). However these ideas were mostly side lined and as G. W. Allport suggested, the research question that dominated social

psychology for the first 30 years of the 20th century was “What change in an individual’s normal solitary performance occurs when other people are present?” (G. W. Allport 1954/1968, p.64), emphasising an individual rather than a group focus.

Moscovici and Markova (2006) characterised this emergent ‘group versus individual’ focus as reflecting Indigenous-American (individual focus) and Euro-American (group focus) traditions in social psychology (for an extensive review of the problematic nature of these terms see Moscovici and Markova (2006)). This division is particularly interesting for the current thesis, which will take up a naturalistic observation approach (See Chapter 4). This early division illustrates how in striving to be ‘scientific’, which was a general theme of the time, researchers might have overlooked the impact of groups at different times in the development of social influence research. This potentially contributed to the presentation of later challenges around how to incorporate context into theories of social influence that will be introduced at the end of this section. Nevertheless although individual level explanations were becoming increasingly favoured, significant developments in group level understandings were made at this early stage, mainly through the work of Muzafer Sherif and Kurt Lewin.

Sherif conceptualised groups in a gestalt manner considering behaviour in groups as more than just individuals working together, famously demonstrated in his studies of the autokinetic effect (Sherif, 1935, 1936/1947, 1936/1966). Through this work and his later summer camp studies (Sherif, 1966) he illustrated the importance of “shared frames of reference” (Sherif, 1936/1966), where the group develops its own norms which become a source of social reality for group members. The group effect was also strongly emphasised by Theodore Newcomb, who argued: “...it is so characteristic of humans to

behave as members of groups that the social psychologist finds it necessary to study the nature of groups in order to understand their individual members” (Newcomb 1950, pp.24-25). Newcomb observed how college students became increasingly liberal through socialisation with other students and that this liberal perspective persisted for several years after leaving college, illustrating that social norms could have both immediate and persistent effects.

One of the issues with experimental approaches and the distrust of naturalistic observation was the implication that group level explanations and applied topics such as leadership, could not be rigorously studied. However, Kurt Lewin worked to counter this by studying several applied topics including leadership (Lewin, 1939) in a careful manner. Lewin considered people as actors within a social field (Lewin, 1944, 1951/1964). He argued that leadership style related to both how a leader acts and how this meshes with the group atmosphere (social field). For example, Lewin discussed the experimental clubs created with *laissez-faire*, autocratic and democratic leadership styles by Lippit and White (reported by Lewin, Lippit and White in 1939). Lewin et al found that children adapted to the leadership style imposed regardless of individual differences. In the democratic group, children were generally more friendly and supportive and the group leader was less active and directive. Contrastingly in the autocratic setting, children were less friendly to each other but twice as submissive to the group leader. Focusing on interactions between people, content analysis which included recording the use of ‘I’ or ‘we’ statements, enabled researchers to capture what Lewin termed the ‘atmosphere’ of the group. Though Lewin’s work is often considered as a general approach to social psychology, it clearly has implications in relation to how influence might operate in an interactive manner and some of these notions of how people relate to each other in

groups will be considered further in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, the main stream of work on social influence between 1950 and 1970 took a more individual approach, rather than Lewin's group level analysis.

1950 to 1970

Between 1950 and 1990, the field of social influence became identified as a sub-topic of social psychology and the number of research strands exploded to include persuasion, conformity, obedience and compliance. As noted in the previous section (and see Turner, 1990) the philosophy underpinning this research was that individuals rather than groups were central to understanding these processes.

Persuasion research illustrated most clearly the individual research focus. Prior to the 1970s the main focus of research was to identify factors and conditions that shaped persuasion (Lord, Paulson, Sia, Lepper, & Thomas, 2004; Petty & Brinol, 2008). Social influence was viewed as a relatively linear temporal progression originating from a source and acting through a communication to affect a target of influence (source → message → target). This was clearly illustrated in the classic publication by Hovland, Janis, and Kelley (1953). The focus was mostly on assessing the attitudes of individuals, testing an intervention to see if researchers could change these attitudes, and then re-assessing attitudes to assess any change (pre and post experimental designs). These experimental designs required large theoretical questions such as the relevance of language to be translated into testable phenomena. For example, Hovland and Mandell (1952, as cited in Hovland et al, 1953) explored whether the inclusion of a conclusion made an argument more or less persuasive. They found that in arguments where a conclusion was drawn by

the communicator 51.2% changed their attitude, as opposed to 30.07% when the conclusion was omitted. The difficulty that researchers encountered was that results frequently conflicted. For example, research suggested that sometimes presenting an argument at the beginning of a message and sometimes at the end was more persuasive, but it was not possible to predict when one or other effect would occur (Hovland et al, 1953). Social influence was therefore considered a highly conflicting field of research in the 1970s.

Conformity research focused on how a group affects an individual and how individuals 'yield' to group pressure (Asch, 1951; Crutchfield, 1955). The most famous studies of conformity were conducted by Solomon Asch (1951, 1952, 1955, 1956) and have been used to support several subsequent theories (such as Social Identity Theory) to illustrate the importance of the group. However, there were some difficulties in how the early findings were interpreted. Asch suggested that the group's responses changed the ways people perceived social objects, rather than the change being related to the more frequent interpretation that people conformed in order to obtain the acceptance of the group (Asch, 1952; Friend, Rafferty, & Bramel, 1990). These two possible explanations were later developed by Deutsch and Gerard (1955) who argued that Asch's concept of the group was too general. They proposed two types of group influence: informational influence, where information from another is considered as 'evidence about reality'; and normative influence, 'influence to conform with the positive expectations of another' (Deutsch and Gerard 1955, p.629). Further, it was argued by Thibaut and Strickland (1956) that the individual's (target's) psychological set (group or task focus) also affects the way that conformity works, swinging back to emphasise the individual in accounting for social influence.

The effects of the Second World War were also seen in social influence research. For example, this famously motivated Stanley Milgram to explore whether people could be considered as 'just following orders' or should be considered as collaborators in the atrocities that took place. This famous work on obedience emphasised the importance of social contexts on obedience (Milgram, 1963). Among other things, the work challenged the suggestion that some people have leadership personalities that innately make them leaders (e.g. as suggested by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). The social context (such as whether the event occurred in a dilapidated office or a prestigious university) rather than the personality of the experimenter was highlighted as important to account for obedience. This research was conducted within the increasingly stringent parameters set for quantitative research, but as we shall see in Chapter 3 (page 76) a discursive approach to obedience suggests that the results were more socially complex than originally suggested.

Compliance research focused more directly on behaviour, rather than changing people's thoughts (Gass & Seiter, 2011). Kelman (1958) suggested compliance was on a continuum from changing behaviour to eventual changes in thinking. He proposed that a person might first demonstrate compliance, agreeing in public but personally disagreeing with a suggestion; then they internalise the suggestion as a changed belief; and finally identify with an idea, because they wish to identify with someone (such as a leader).

Research on obedience and compliance invoked the concepts of power and authority.

Theories involving the effects of power frequently emphasised the importance of power

bases drawing on Dahl (1957) and French and Raven (1959). These approaches suggest that social positions, for example within an organisation, make available particular types of power that people can draw on to influence others. Therefore in a position of leadership a person might have more access to legitimate power than a peer or a same level colleague.

A further strand of research focused on helping behaviours and exploring the effects of the presence of others in different situations in more depth. Helping behaviour in emergency situations was found by Latane and Darley (1969) as surprisingly lacking, a phenomena they termed 'bystander apathy'. Theoretical explanations for bystander apathy included Social Comparison Theory, which suggested people are motivated to be correct in their evaluations and that they assess this by how similar they are to others (Festinger, 1954). Festinger subsequently developed work on motivation and influence through Cognitive Dissonance Theory, suggesting that people are motivated to make their actions match their beliefs (Festinger, 1953, 1957).

There was less emphasis during this time on resistance to influence. Though Asch (1955) focused on resistance, the numerous textbook interpretations of his work depict the focus as conformity (e.g. Brehm, Kassir, & Fein, 2002; Feldman, 2001; Kenrick, Neuberg and Cialdini, 2002). Brehm (1966) developed this work on resistance in the form of reactance theory. In reactance theory people experience resistance whenever they feel their choices and free will are, or there is a threat that these will be, constrained. These theories, which explored different parts of social influence, started to be brought together in more overarching theories during the 1970s.

1970 to 1990

Social influence research reached something of a crisis in the 1970s. The problem was the sheer quantity of variables that researchers had identified and the frequently conflicting results (Forgas & Williams, 2001; Nemeth & Markowski, 1972; Petty & Brinol, 2008; Pratkanis, 2007; Sherif, 1977; Tedeschi, 1972). This issue was addressed by the development of more applied approaches to influence, more complex models explaining influence through cognitive processing, group based models and through the concepts of power and influence.

Neisser (1976) argued that the key issue to reigniting interest in social influence research was to conduct more applied research. Yet, the inherent problems of applied research in terms of maintaining rigour and scientific credibility remained. For example, Irving Janis (1972) developed the concept of 'group think' through analysis of political 'fiascos' after events, but his case study approach has been criticised for vague definitions and lack of subsequent experimental evidence (Turner, Pratkanis, & Struckman, 2007).

Robert Cialdini (1980, 1995, 2001) offered an experimental alternative to applied research, a 'full cycle social psychology', where observations of everyday behaviour are tested in the laboratory and then rechecked for validity against further naturalistic observations. For example, Cialdini (2001) observed how door to door television sales men frequently made potential customers imagine what it would be like to have a really clear television, finding this tactic highly persuasive. When studied in the laboratory the use of imagination as a persuasion tactic was incredibly effective. However, salesmen did not always use it. Direct observation of everyday life explained why: in everyday contexts

it was often difficult to obtain the quiet conditions required to make the imagination tactic effective (Cialdini, 2001).

Applied research generated methodological explanations for the conflicting findings.

Other psychologists accounted for the inconsistency by suggesting targets have two ways of processing messages. Two competing models emerged: the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981, 1986); and the Heuristic Systematic Model (HSM) (Chaiken, 1980; Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989), both termed dual processing models. Chaiken et al's (1989) Heuristic-Systematic processing Model (HSM) differentiated a rational, more detailed route of information processing, from the use of heuristics - shortcuts in information processing. The Elaboration Likelihood model (ELM) (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986) proposed central and peripheral routes of information processing. This was classically illustrated in a study of whether students would accept a rigorous examination procedure (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981). Exploring the effects of source credibility Petty and Cacioppo found that personal relevance affected depth of message processing. High personal relevance increased the effects of message content whereas low personal relevance increased the effect of source credibility. Thus, Petty and Cacioppo proposed that increased motivation to engage with the information (increased personal relevance in this case) led to processing through the central route with a higher effect of message content and less of peripheral cues (e.g. source credibility). Conversely, lower motivation initiates peripheral processing which increases the effect of peripheral cues (e.g. source credibility) and reduces message content effect.

In contrast to the proposals of Petty and Cacioppo, Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1990) argued that social influence theories were limited as they did not consider the effects of group mediation. This argument formed the basis for Social Identity Theory (SIT), which proposed that the individual's relationship to the group affects how influential group norms are, and mediates the extent to which the group becomes a reference for the validity of informational influence (group referent social influence) (Turner, 1987). Thus informational influence is not independent of the group. The relationship of in-group informational influence to the group norm and the level of members' identification with the group were proposed to affect in-group persuasion, where previous theories had suggested group discussion would lead to the averaging out of opinion (Turner, 1987). SIT does not ignore cognitive representations, but focuses on how participants come to hold a group prototype within their heads (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The process of identification involves individuals firstly recognising the group, then identifying with it and finally internalising group norms so that their behaviours become in line with those of their group (Turner, 1985, 1990). At this point the person does not consider their behaviour as changed or affected by the group but simply as their own behaviour. Newcomb's study of socialisation cited above (page 35) is frequently given as a clear example of this (e.g. Turner 1987, 1990).

A further response to the crisis of social influence involved the invocation of concepts related to power. Three examples of how this was done will be considered here. Firstly, Tedeschi (1972) suggested that social influence had been considered in a highly restricted way and should be considered as more central to social psychology. Tedeschi and Bonoma (1972) emphasised power and relationships between people, reminiscent of Kurt

Lewin's field theory. From these foundations Tedeshi (and his co-authors) drew on general theories such as exchange theory, based on economics, and the importance of social networks. Such theories are not considered in detail here as this is beyond the scope of this thesis however, they present a broader and more flexible understanding of relationships between target and source and highlight the relevance of considering social and political contexts of power, as well as individual effects. Social power was subsequently clearly illustrated by Philip Zimbardo. Zimbardo's approach to social influence emphasised the importance of social power conveyed to people through social structures, which he argued had been frequently overlooked by research focused at the intra personal or interpersonal level. The importance of power was illustrated in Zimbardo's famous Stanford Prison experiment (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973) where participants took part in a mock prison situation. Participants were randomly assigned as prisoners and guards. The guards treated the prisoners in extreme ways, punishing prisoners for not obeying them. It appeared that the anonymity of the roles provided occasions for guards to treat prisoners in inhumane ways. This line of research however became restricted by the associated ethical concerns, nevertheless Zimbardo has continued this work exploring how context and social stories are particularly important in producing more or less desirable social behaviour (Zimbardo, 2007).

Bringing the concept of power back to a more precise and detailed formulaic approach, Latane (1981) attempted to integrate power into a formula of social influence and reduce the ambiguity related to the concept of power, developing Social Impact Theory. Social Impact Theory defined influence as the effect of the strength (S) (including social power such as issues of class or social roles), immediacy (I) and the number of persuaders (N).

Latane suggested that the effect of the number of sources was greatest for the first source, and the effect of increased sources decreased as the number of sources increased. He proposed that the number of targets of influence reduced the effects of influence, summarised as $I = f(1/SIN)$, and explaining social loafing. However, contrary to Latane's high regard for the number of sources, extensive evidence suggests that minorities can be influential and have a more latent and longer lasting effect and that factors such as the consistency of the source's perspective are important (Moscovici, 1976, 1980). The expansion of the concept of power to include the importance of ideologies and broader social structures seems important for producing understandings sensitive to broader political effects on individuals even in immediate face to face situations.

Thus the field of social influence appeared to have moved from conflicting experimental findings, to produce a range of theoretical accounts, which frequently conflicted with each other.

Post 1990

Since around 1990 researchers began to integrate theories of social influence, and to increase the specification of what different terms and concepts meant, though a single overarching theory remains elusive. The issue of how to include more complex theory around context and influence was also increasingly recognised.

The search for a mathematical formula continued. For example, Nail and Macdonald developed the Social Context Response Model (MacDonald, Nail, & Levy, 2004; Nail et al.,

2000; Nail, MacDonald, & Pratkanis, 2007) by synthesising principle distinctions previously made in the literature. These distinctions were firstly, whether a person engaged in public or private agreement; and secondly, whether a person agreed or disagreed relative to the source before or after being influenced. Plotting all possibilities from these dimensions produced 16 different categories of influence. Nail and MacDonald proposed that identifying these multiple possibilities would eventually mean that a more general mathematical model could be produced, and that it would be possible to expand Latane's (1980) Social Impact Theory.

Taxonomies of social influence have also been developed in more general terms that did not focus on integrating models. For example the widely used concept of social norms was arguably ill defined and ambiguously applied in the past which resulted in conflicting findings (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Goldstein, Cialdini, & Pratkanis, 2007; Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2008). To improve this, Cialdini and colleagues (Cialdini et al., 1990; Goldstein et al., 2007) discriminated two types of norms: injunctive (the perception of how one ought to behave), and descriptive (where people follow what others actually do). They found behavioural predictions based on norms were more accurate where research was designed to accommodate which type of norm was more salient for people on particular occasions. This approach has been widely applied in the USA to reduce college drinking (e.g. Berkowitz and Perkins 2003). It was assumed students' subjective (or perceived) norms of other students' alcohol intake are much higher than the actual norm. This subjective norm was "corrected" using posters positioned around college campuses.

The multiple uses of the term 'norm' in different theories have also been questioned (Nolan et al., 2008). The Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1985, 1988) differentiates 'subjective' or perceived norms from the actual norm (or measured average of behaviour) (Cialdini et al., 1990). It has also been suggested that 'Local' (Fornora, Giuseppe Carrus, & Bonnes, 2011) or 'Provincial' (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008) norms also exist. Fornora et al (2011) proposed that these local/provincial norms relate to a specific group who share a social space and are differentiated from the group norm presented by social identity theory as people sharing a particular social space might not represent a single in-group.

Other taxonomies have explored the different types of influence tactics that are available to people. Pratkanis (2007) argued that it may be possible to develop tactics into a kind of 'periodic table' of influence. For him, there were four types of influence tactics: landscaping tactics, tactics relying on use of social relationships, effective message tactics and emotional tactics. For example, Pratkanis included as landscaping tactics the way different descriptive labels can affect how people later rate their support of something such as affirmative action plans (e.g. Kravitz and Platania, 1993). Tactics relying on social relationships included altercasting (where the other is positioned in a particular social role). Effective message tactics included the omission of an explicit conclusion in a message, fitting the message with previous beliefs, and use of rhetorical questions. Emotional tactics included fear and guilt appeals. There were also more prescribed procedures such as the door in the face technique, which is where a person is presented with a large request that they will turn down, but this makes them more likely to agree to a subsequent smaller request (e.g. Cialdini, Vincent et al. 1975). Other taxonomies of

research tactics include Cialdini's (2001) specification of influence principles: reciprocity, consistency, social proof, liking, authority and scarcity.

There is also an increasing similarity between dual process models and Social Identity Theory. Thus Petty and Brinol (2008) described a third wave of persuasion research, arguing that 'meta reflective functioning' was important in addition to which processing route was used. They integrated self-concept and self-validation as moderators of persuasion attempts, which they argued related to the degree of confidence an individual has in their thoughts. The notion of self-validation has been further developed to consider self-persuasion (Brinol, McCaslin, & Petty, 2012). The effects of self-persuasion highlight how in the course of persuading another, a person also persuades themselves and can increase their own confidence in their thinking, an effect also evident in the use of role play (Evans & Clark, 2012). There was also some suggestion that participants engaged in self regulation might be more likely to acquiesce to persuasion (Wheeler, Brinol and Hermann, 2007).

Throughout all of this work, the issue of how to integrate understandings of context within social influence research emerged (Forgas & Williams, 2001). The complexities of the relationship between social influence and context can be clearly seen by exploring the ways in which influence tactics seem to work in organisations. Yukl and associates have distinguished several such tactics including: rational persuasion, consultation, inspirational appeal, ingratiation, personal appeal, exchange, coalition, legitimizing and pressure (Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Yukl, Kim, & Falbe, 1996; Yukl & Tracy, 1992). The

effectiveness of each tactic varied according to leadership style and direction of influence. For example, inspirational appeals are more directly associated with downward influence (to subordinates), coalition with peers (horizontal relationships), and rational persuasion with superiors (upward influence) (Charbonneau, 2004). The effectiveness of influence tactics is thus seen as directly related to different power bases (Carli, 1999; Lines, 2007; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl & Tracy, 1992). Further variables such as gender (Carli 1999), whether an organisation is undergoing change (Lines 2007) and simply different organisations (Yukl and Falbe 1990) were suggested to moderate the effectiveness of these tactic–power base combinations.

The interesting issue about leadership, persuasion and context is that past research had assumed leaders were born (Bass, 1990) and thus had a particular personality. More recent personality research suggests that different aspects of personality might be relevant to social influence (Anderson, Spataro, & Flynn, 2008; Cable & Judge, 2003), but also emphasises the importance of adapting leadership tactics and styles to the styles of those who are the subject of influence (Cable and Judge 2003).

An emphasis on context in terms of leadership highlighted not just organisationally assigned leadership, but also emergent leadership and the effects of group dynamics. Presenting a Social Identity Theory (SIT) perspective, Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds, and Schmitt (2010) and Haslam, Reicher, and Platow (2011) suggest that leaders emerge in groups dependent on how prototypical they are of the group, and this level of prototypicality dictates the degree of influence that a leader can effect. Who is most

prototypical also varies according to the out-group(s) a group is being compared with. Hence SIT clearly begins to address issues of social context in understanding leadership influence (Haslam et al 2011). However, even within social identity research it is recognised that the concept of the group is not enough to account entirely for context. This has initiated developments toward models suggesting another layer to social identity theory - the moderation of the relationship between the person and the group by context (Spears, Postmes, Lea, & Watt, 2001). Thus, there is scope here to further explore the degree of integration between individuals, groups and contexts. To do this, it is suggested here that consideration of language is essential.

Language and social influence research

An increasing number of researchers have criticised the use of experimental approaches to study social influence as having obscured or even prevented the detailed study of how the language of everyday life is relevant for social influence (Berger & Burgoon, 1995; Hepburn & Potter, 2011a; Ng, 2001; Ng & Bradac, 1993). This section explores the rationale that these researchers have suggested for pursuing a language focused approach to social psychology and introduces key examples of language focused approaches.

The experimental method provided a starting place for social influence research. This method fitted with the emerging principles of a science. It was able to demonstrate validity through clearly defined standards such as the replication of findings and provided a systematic approach for the detailed examination of different variables involved in social influence. However, the use of experiments has received generic criticism in

psychology for the limited consideration of the effects of language (Davies & Harre, 1990; Edwards, 1997; Harre & Gillett, 1994; Potter, 2000; Potter & Te Molder, 2005; Still & Costall, 1991). Berger and Burgoon (1995) suggested that a key concern with experimental approaches for social influence research was the use of ANOVA statistical techniques for establishing causal relationships. They argued that the source, message, channel, receiver model (or source→message→target model) fitted well with the linear design of ANOVA but ANOVA was unable to accommodate the complex relationships evident in face to face interaction. Hovland et al's (1953) use of pre and post designs (page 37) is a clear example of this, involving the initial assessment of an attitude, provision of a message from a source, and reassessment of an attitude. Sadly the details of how the participant actually reacts and responds during this process are left unconsidered. For Ng and Bradac (1993) this meant that real life context and the personal relevance in terms of power which they viewed as central to social influence, was overlooked. They highlighted that the influence target is frequently considered passive in the influence process, simply presented with a monologue and that experiments mostly capture only snapshots of events, which might unfold over time in different ways.

The experimental method also requires the isolation of variables so that their effects on each other could be tested. As many researchers (e.g. Billig, 1987/1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) have commented, imposing artificial boundaries between variables and around their relationships may confuse understandings rather than reveal what actually occurs. For example, Hovland and Weiss (1951, as cited in Hovland et al, 1953) explored credibility as something that was separate from the language of the message by asking

participants to rate different sources for credibility. Yet what is a credible source might vary according to content and intended use of the information (Billig 1987/1996). Indeed, Billig (*ibid*) suggested that experimental approaches might lead to questions *ad infinitum* of how to refine and understand relationships between variables. Billig did not argue that these approaches were inherently wrong, but rather that the nature of what constitutes how we negotiate what is real should also be considered, a theme taken up in more detail in Chapter 3 (page 75). Other psychologists have taken this a step further and argued that the favouritism of the experimental method and the rejection of sociological approaches has resulted in an impoverished theory of social worlds due to the limited use of observational methods (Greenwood, 2003).

Language is not considered in a consistent way within traditional approaches to social influence. How it is interpreted is affected by the theoretical approach used, and the methodology. So, for example, the cliché critique of experimental research and its view of language is that language is often considered as a transparent 'window on the mind'. In this vein, 'thought records' are often used to try to gain an understanding of what the target of influence thinks about a particular subject (e.g. Hoog, Stroebe & Wit 2008). The details of grammar and the interactive context are rarely considered, and sometimes even restricted, for example in the use of Likert scales where people simply rate their opinions on numerical scales (e.g. Bobek, Roberts, & Sweeney, 2007; Lord et al., 2004). It is assumed that Likert scales allow direct access to internal attitudes. However, the topic of social influence itself has challenged the meaning and effectiveness of such techniques. For example, with the concepts of public and private agreement it becomes difficult to know whether a person writing down their opinion in a room on their own is writing from

their personal perspective, or for other people (such as the researchers). Further, when theorising the source of influence, language is often interpreted in a different way again, this time as representing “the power of influence” – use the right language and you will persuade another (e.g. the most influential use of rhetorical questions (Ahluwalia & Burnkrant, 2004)). In this case, language has an effect rather than being considered as solely representational.

The attribution of language as representational overlooks the considerable variation of language in everyday interactions, and how meanings are constantly changed and shaped as people are discussing them. Capturing this dynamic interactive context appears to pose the greatest challenge for experimental approaches. Berger (1995) suggested that this led to psychologists mostly focussing on routine or ritual interactions, offering prescriptions of targets, overlooking the considerable ambiguity of everyday life. Thus, as Miller (1987) suggested in his analysis of compliance gaining research:

‘If persuasion researchers want to understand how compliance-gaining message strategies function in interpersonal settings – or, for that matter, how any symbolic inducement functions in any communicative setting- they must come to grips with the necessity of observing the actual message exchanges’ (Miller, 1987, p.474).

In this vein, a number of different theories placing language as central have begun to emerge, including Language Expectancy Theory, content analysis studies examining relationships, and Ng and colleagues’ studies on language and power.

Language Expectancy Theory offered a way of combining the broader sociological context that individuals are located in with the effects of influence in a particular situation. It was developed within an experimental paradigm, where the authors sought to manifest an awareness of the problems of overlooking language experienced in the past. It predicted that people hold particular normative expectations of other people in terms of the types of strategies and opinions that they might present, based on a person's sociological category (for example, their gender, social class, or social role (teacher, student, parent etc) (Burgoon, 1989, 1990, 1995; Burgoon & Burgoon, 1990; Burgoon & Miller, 1985). Burgoon (1995) exemplified this by suggesting that men might have more normative credibility to affect a greater range of persuasive strategies, including more aggressive and less aggressive ones but for women this might be more restricted. However, this theory has been criticised as difficult to disprove as social class expectancies were difficult to predict *a priori* to the research and thus it was not thought to fit the acceptable criteria for hypothetico-deductive research (See Burgoon, 1995). Later attempts to overcome this included Buller et al's (2000) study of health professionals, where it was easier to infer that health professionals would be high credibility sources. To clarify expectations, the researchers reviewed copious studies, including self-reports and retrospective accounts of dentist-patient relationships to ascertain what people's expectations of professionals were. This enabled predictions of normative expectations of language use and its violations, to be made. The hypothesis was supported that this group could use more intense language (positive violations of expectation) to be more effective in persuading families to increase the protection of children from ultra-violet radiation.

Recent work develops this to consider the relationship of Language Expectancy Theory with Social Identity Theory (Reid, Palomares, Anderson, & Bondad-Brown, 2009). In this study tentative versus assertive language use was manipulated based on the inclusion or exclusion of more hedges, tag questions or hesitations. Effects on gender vs college student status were tested. It was found that women more readily persuade men by using tentative language where gender was salient, supporting the SIT claim that group identification is important. However when gender was less salient, language expectancy theory was supported in that positive violations of what might be expected from a college student were more persuasive. The researchers suggested that Social Identity Theory and Language Expectancy Theory might be further explored to clarify the conditions in which one or other theory is appropriate. Arguably however, as Billig proposed that specifying variables of influence was problematic the specification of conditions might also be difficult (or impossible) due to the degree of ambiguity present in the use of language in interactions.

Research programmes such as that of Buller et al (2000) and Ried et al (2009) use complex statistical models developed from regression and mediation analysis. These modern approaches can go beyond the more linear approaches of earlier ANOVA models to draw out the relationships not only in terms of which variable predicts another and to include those variables that interfere (or mediate) in such relationships. Nevertheless, these models still require a high degree of specification and distinction of variables. Further, these studies still have not accessed naturalistic language in naturalistic contexts.

Other research has adopted a content analysis approach in order to examine more directly the language that people use in everyday talk where people are influencing each other, akin to Lewin's earlier approach (see page 36). This approach still enabled researchers to quantify findings with numbers, but the direct observation of interactions has been revealing in a number of ways. Firstly, it has enabled researchers to accommodate people as both influence sources and targets by classifying the actions that people do in arguments (e.g. initiating a suggestion), rather than classifying people in roles (Orina, Simpson, Ickes, Asada, & Fitzpatrick, 2008). Secondly, it has shown how features such as how people use language, for example in demonstrating their knowledge as they speak (knowledge of informal practice, and who knows what), can result in people being perceived as more influential than criteria traditionally considered as important, such as status (Kleinnijenhuis, van Den Hoof, Utz, Vermeulen, & Huysman, 2011). Finally, a focus on content analysis based on ethnography illustrated the considerable effects of the organisational context (through use of organisational language) on trainers and performance of professional sportsmen (Wagstaff, Fletcher, & Hanton, 2012).

Ng and Bradac (1993) take the focus on language further, by hypothesising how work from studies of language beyond social psychology, including sociology, anthropology and psycholinguistics might augment the understanding of language in social influence research. Ng and colleagues have focused specifically on language, power and social influence. Their work spans both the immediate interactional context for participants and broader intergroup concepts of social power. Using mixed methods approaches, this work captured aspects of interaction such as interruptions and length of speech and the associated perceptions that participants have of each other's amount of influence. For

example Reid and Ng (2006) explored the development of intragroup relationships in the context of an out-group. Small groups of students were discussing capital punishment and it was found that the more a speaker directed turns and proactive interruptions at an out-group, the higher their status developed within the group. In terms of larger groups, Ng has examined some of the ways that language in societies changes to reflect power (Ng, 2001). Ng suggested language can:

“(1) reveal and (2) reflect the power that lies behind it but has not power of its own...group members can use language (3) to create influence, (4) to depoliticise their influence attempts, and (5) to make an existing dominance relationship routine so it seems natural.” (Ng 2001, p.191).

Most of Ng’s research has been based on content analyses. It theorised the usefulness of applying a more active notion of language that emphasises how each utterance does something within talk. Indeed, Ng and Bradac (1993) discussed the possibilities of using a more discursively informed approach to language, using hypothetical examples of how this might work (discussed further in Chapter 3, page 70). More recently, Ng (2007a) also explored the relationship between language and power with Social Identity Theory.

Drawing on theoretical examples of talk, Ng showed how cultural stories can embody and justify discrimination through particular language requirements to access particular jobs, how discrimination can become embodied in language through particular turns of phrase and how it can be enacted through sentence structures with implied causal relations and normalised. The important issue here for understanding social influence is the suggestion that there might be implicit power relations that are culturally defined and constructed, that situate people in different positions that might produce them as more or less influential or likely to be influenced. Through this analysis, Ng suggested that it is possible

for people to be categorised in language through more than one category, which amplifies the effects of in-group-outgroup discrimination (e.g Black + Asian + Muslim + Terrorist).

The work on language discussed in this section reveals how further work exploring language and social influence might have a great deal to offer. Themes suggested by this section include the ways that people use language from their social context to demonstrate themselves as knowledgeable and the flexible ways that people can make themselves both the subject of and the proponent of, influence. Nevertheless, some problems remain in terms of how researchers focusing on language and influence are managing and dealing with the role of language itself. This will be further explored in Chapter 3.

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter examined some of the multiple meanings that social psychologists have ascribed to social influence and the methodological approaches taken. Meanings were related to the power and control that people might have over each other, and intimations of a naivety that some targets of influence might have. However, more recent approaches have started to delve into people's awareness of influence and how this relates to context. Importantly, this knowledge has been shaped through a battle to define social psychology as a separate scientific discipline and this has led to hypothetico-deductive methods being favoured. Researchers have sought to produce refined definitions of influence as a process, and the multiple factors that affect it.

In the second section we saw that much of this research was based in some way on language – language used to describe theories, to influence people and to report changes of thoughts or beliefs. However, the ways in which language has been treated has been conflicted. Indeed, several researchers have begun to re-focus on the involvement of language in influence in different ways, including viewing language as key to how influence and context collide and emphasising the importance of the dynamics of interaction. It is from this point, and drawing on the now more extensive theorising of language in discursive psychology, that this thesis now moves on to examine in more detail what a language based approach might offer to understanding social influence. This seems particularly important when considered with Ng and Bradac's comment:

"Language is the primary instrument for achieving influence"

(Ng & Bradac 1993, p.17)

Chapter 3: Re-specifying Social Influence

This chapter places language in question, opening up new ways for social psychologists to understand and approach social influence. It will use the knowledge of language generated through discursive psychology to unveil levels of understanding that have remained as yet unquestioned. Further, it will build for the reader the basis of a synthetic discursive approach to social influence.

Discursive psychology is based on assumptions that language is (1) active - a particular utterance is not just an utterance, but always has a social action; (2) indexical - language is related to what came before and what comes after and (3) rhetorical - language is responsive to something. This is sometimes termed the Discursive Action Model (DAM) developed in 1993 by Potter, Edwards and Wetherell and which has been reiterated on multiple occasions (Edwards, 2005; Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007; Potter & Edwards, 2012).

Discursive psychology is not however a unified voice. Two main divisions exist between discursive psychology and critical discursive psychology (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007; Wetherell, 1998).

Discursive Psychology (DP) focuses on the details of interaction and has drawn increasingly on traditions of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Ethnomethodology (EM) to examine the social actions that talk does at particular moments (for example, the work of Harvey Sacks (1992) and Emmanuel Schegloff (2007)). However, it is important also to

distinguish DP from these traditions. Discursive psychologists maintain the focus on *psychology* as it is done in talk where some Conversation Analysts (e.g. John Heritage) continue to value more cognitive explanations for what might be going on behind talk.

This DP approach enables a questioning of what social influence might look like in practice. In line with the broader social constructionist approach of this thesis set out in Chapter 1 (page 15), this chapter also draws on Critical Discursive Psychology (CDP). Critical discursive psychologists have suggested that the CA inspired fine detailed approach can be restrictive (See various debates: Billig, 1999a, 1999b; Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Schegloff, 1997; Wetherell, 1998, 2001, 2007, 2012). They emphasised the importance of exploring the live cultural and political worlds in which people exist.

In CDP, discourse has often been conceptualised as including a wide range of signs and meanings (not just talk) organised as a system that constructs normality (Harre & Gillet, 1994). For example for Edley (2001, p. 191) discourse 'encompasses a whole range of different symbolic activities, including styles of dress, patterns of consumption, ways of moving as well as talking.'. This relationship of meanings also drew from the work of Michel Foucault who has suggested complexes exist in social life between knowledge and power. This approach proposed that social objects are produced through discursive formations, conflicting ideas (or discourses) that come together from society and create subject positions for people (Foucault, 1966/1970, 1967/1989, 1969). However, although influenced by these ideas, the notion of subject positions in CDP is more one that people themselves can also construct, rather than focusing so much on how social orders create these for people.

The current thesis adopts an approach that synthesises these two perspectives creating a 'synthetic discursive psychology'. Synthesising these approaches produces a perspective that can accommodate: *'the broader 'argumentative textures' (Laclau, 1993, p.341) constituting a social formation and interaction situated in a particular moment.'* (Wetherell, 2012, p.100). Thus social influence can be examined not just through a focus on practices that look like influence, but also in terms of how these fit into broader understandings of social influence that are available in society. Further, this opens up a more reflexive position for researchers so that they can be aware of where the meanings of their understandings of social influence may originate from.

Other forms of discourse analysis are not covered in detail in this thesis. This includes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (e.g. the work of Van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak) which draws on the work of Foucault, but places greater emphasis on the construction of society and power through discourse than on psychological phenomena. Some CDA theorists such as Van Dijk have taken a social psychological approach. However, Van Dijk (for example, see Van Dijk, 2008) sought to integrate more traditional cognitive notions of psychology, rather than to challenge them, which is the aim of the current thesis, so his approach is not pursued here.

This chapter contains two main sections. It will firstly explore the limitations of previous research on language and social influence in the light of recent developments in discursive psychology. Secondly, it examines the challenges by discursive researchers to

social influence that have already been made. Through this review an argument will be developed for the value of taking a synthetic discursive approach to understand social influence.

Language, social influence, and discursive psychology

This section explores how discursive psychology presents a different theoretical account for social influence from Language Expectancy Theory and Ng and colleagues' approach to language and power. It also offers a critique of content analysis, as this has commonly been used by Ng and other social influence researchers when focusing on language.

Language Expectancy Theory

A description of LET was provided in Chapter 2 (page 53). This theory offered some interesting parallels with aspects of a synthetic approach to social influence. Firstly, in terms of the suggestion that there are particular social practices and ways of talking associated with specific social categories. Critical discursive psychology proposed that there are particular patterns or ways of talking which they term discursive resources that different people have access to (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Further, Davies and Harre (1990) suggested that these patterns or ways of talking can produce or be related to different subject positions (such as whether a person is positioned within a conversation as a professional, a male or a female). Thus both approaches (LET and CDP) hold the same basic assertion that particular social categories are related to particular permissions in terms of the type of influence a person can have.

LET also began to differentiate aspects of language use in social influence. It considered language expectations to relate both to the content of the message, and to the style and

details through which the message is introduced. This is also reflected in the synthetic discursive approach in seeking to intertwine observations of the fine details of how people interact with the broader argumentative and meaningful context that people find themselves situated in.

Despite the generalised similarities at a theoretical level between discursive approaches and LET there are also some fundamental differences in perspective. These relate largely to difficulties in accommodating the ambiguity of language. So, Language Expectancy Theory still carries the assumption that a person's interpretation of whether or not a norm has been violated is related to their cognitive perception of the situation, arguably a relatively fixed point. However, a discursive approach draws attention to how these interpretations are produced within an interactive context. People are considered to negotiate and respond to language in the moment. Although this might be constrained by the linguistic repertoires available to them to describe the source or target, it is also possible for people to use these resources to reproduce the source in different and flexible ways. Thus the way a source is categorised may be related more to a particular moment in conversation, than a pre-held perception of the social category that a person might hold.

Indeed, it is not only about where or how these social categories are created, but there is also a question of whether they exist in the fixed way specified by LET. Chapter 2 (page 54) discussed the work that Buller et al conducted, which generated expectations of language based on retrospective accounts and previous research. This approach cannot

account for the flexible ways that these categories might be created as people talk (for a more extensive consideration of the notion of categories and discourse see Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The term 'subject positions' is an alternative theoretical concept often invoked in CDP, referring to how people create themselves or each other in different social roles. CDP emphasises how the particular subject position that a person takes up might be constructed there and then within a particular interaction (Davies & Harre, 1990). Some of these positions might be more or less structurally defined by society, but fundamentally they are still considered as constantly in construction and evolving. Indeed Giddens (1991), a sociologist himself, suggested that social categories are better explained as identity projects that people are constantly in the process of evolving and developing rather than as fixed realities.

The challenge of ambiguity is also levelled at how the positive or negative violation of norms can be defined. Thus in Buller et al's study (2000) reviewed in Chapter 2, the positive violation was assumed to be a health practitioner advocating dental hygiene and using threats of what might happen if this is not carried out. The threat is considered a positive violation because it is more extreme in the language used, yet it remains in the caring direction that would be expected from the dentist. However this not only assumes an expectation of language, but also of what is or is not a healthy behaviour and that this is known to the patient. Consider the circumstance where there has been a change in advice, such as from brushing teeth with toothpaste, to using a new chemical mouthwash alone. Now the normative expectation becomes more questionable and subject to change. Indeed, as Gergen (1973) has suggested, one of the major difficulties for social psychology is the constantly evolving nature of social worlds as people construct and re-construct ideas. Thus it is likely that what is considered an appropriate or normal

expectation for a particular social category (and thus also a violation of this) is relative to the particular historical moment in which the event was studied.

Arguably a central restriction for LET has been the epistemological and ontological framework through which it was produced, and the challenge of presenting the work as legitimate within a 'scientific' community that places considerable value on quantitative research. This framework for developing knowledge emphasises the prediction of outcomes necessitating a clear differentiation of the parameters that create these outcomes. As Still (1991, p.9) suggested, this experimental method can be treated "as a way of dispelling the fog" as it were. However, even in the medical field that this approach was tested in, researchers such as Healy (2012) noted how the focus on quantitative evidence means that discussions of anecdote and observations of actual practice is side lined. Healy challenged this by arguing that direct observation might provide a 'short cut' to knowing what actually works and reduce the copious amount of experimental evidence required. Further, experimental evidence requires a considerable amount of inference to show how findings relate to everyday life and so creates a large margin for error in analysis that is often unacknowledged. Arguably, observing everyday interactions directly would cut out some of this inference process.

In summary, LET provides a useful framework that is similar to many of the general assumptions of discursive psychology at a theoretical level, but is constrained by the methods applied. Discursive psychology might further these insights working under

different parameters that highlight an awareness of the socially constructed nature of knowledge itself, as well as the focal concept of social influence.

Use of content analysis

Where LET offered a grand theory of language and social influence, a number of individual research projects have used content analysis to address the challenge of language. This has included Ng in his research on power and influence, discussed below. Rather than merge this discussion of content analysis with the work of Ng, I will discuss it separately.

Content analysis has been suggested by some researchers as a solution to the methodological problem of capturing the interactional context and reducing the amount of inference required from experimental findings, by studying more naturalistic interactions directly. As introduced in Chapter 2 (page 56), this approach appears to capture something of the interactional context, maintain the use of statistics and capture how people can be both targets and influencers. Further, content analysis can be used to explore the actual situations in which people experience influence, rather than depending upon artificially created scenarios.

However content analysis struggles to capture the complexity of interactions intimated by discursive psychology. So, content analysis involves counting the number of repeated features within an interaction (e.g. the number of hesitations). Each hesitation is treated as having the same meaning. However, this does not capture how meanings can be built up at a turn by turn level in interaction so that the meaning of a hesitation in one part of the text might be different to that in another. The importance of considering the building

of meanings at a turn by turn level is illustrated by McHoul, Rapley and Antaki (2008). In a hypothetical example they present a first person as asking “Do you have a light?”. McHoul et al noted that it is the second person’s response that determines whether this becomes a request for a light for a cigarette, or an offer of friendship.

Further, content analysis does not capture how broader social meanings are used in interaction. The importance of considering broader discursive meaning is seen for example in the work of Reynolds, Wetherell, and Taylor (2007) where single women constantly integrated personal repertoires and broader social discourses to negotiate meanings and identities within their discourse. For example, single women made reference to the expectation that they should “wait to be chosen” by a partner and used this resource to explain their singleness, or as something to argue against. Thus these participants could be seen to be both constrained by the social and agents of it simultaneously through their discourse (Gergen, 2002; Reynolds, 2008; Reynolds et al., 2007). It was through analysis of broader meanings that greater sense could be made of how these people were positioning themselves within a social world.

Potter (2000; 2012) suggests that the underpinning concern with content analysis is not simply methodological in terms of what is or is not being captured, but is related to the fundamental assumption that a single reality is being studied. Thus, even though the interest is on different parts of language (hesitations, interruptions etc) there is an essentialist philosophy that these are characteristic of relatively (at least) fixed and singular phenomena (e.g. related to a type of power). However, DP’s theory of language

as active suggests there can be multiple changing realities present in a single interaction. So, not only might the next turn determine the meaning of the previous, but it may be that these in fact create multiple levels of reality. Indeed, it is suggested here that a synthetic approach to discursive psychology extends the potential for multiple realities from moment by moment utterances to also include those created by the multiple and more or less enduring social meanings.

Arthur Still (1991) provided a clear illustration of the problem of theorising language. He described cognitivism as offering a 'romantic ideal' of language. He explains cognitivism as invoking an implicit hope that language can accurately represent a precise reality and that through constant refinement of terms people will better understand their environments eventually, to the extent that this can be represented through a precise mathematical formulae. Still contrasts this with the reality of everyday experience: *'If this view of science correctly characterises the true function of language, then everyday language is quite unsatisfactory. Disagreement is rife, and it is rare that arguments are settled by focusing more closely upon disputed topics.'* (Still, 1991, p.9). This complex understanding of language is relevant at two levels here: firstly, in terms of interpreting the data in front of us, and secondly in terms of how theories are constructed from this data. Indeed as illustrated in Chapter 2 (page 45), the romantic ideal of representing language as a precise reality does not seem to have worked for theories of social influence as the increasing refinement appears to have been the problem for social influence and persuasion, revealing increasing conflict rather than a single understanding of influence.

Ng's approach to exploring language, power and influence

The work of Ng is important to consider separately because of all social influence researchers he has most directly taken up the challenge of exploring and theorising language. His work is not formalised in a grand theory, such as LET. Rather Ng and colleagues have emphasised the relationship between power, language and influence.

Specifically, Ng's research focused on the examination of the 'status quo' of power and influence through exploring the particular features of talk that are generated by particular more powerful groups within society (Ng, 2007a). This recognition of, and emphasis on, power and how this is maintained through language and talk contains echoes of a critical discursive psychological approach in the sense that there is a greater awareness than in earlier, more traditional approaches to social influence on how the broader power structures of society operate.

However, although Ng has included a detailed examination of what language is (see Ng and Bradac, 1993), this has produced an approach with clear differences from discursive psychology, synthetic or otherwise. The reader will recall from the introduction that DP has drawn extensively on the work of Harvey Sacks, who inspired the development of Conversation Analysis and the importance of studying the fine details of how conversation unfolds at a turn by turn level. Ng suggested that this approach is problematic due to the messy nature of language, arguing that to find consistent patterns would be almost impossible (Ng and Bradac 1993). As an alternative, he advocated the use of more generic theories of language such as the use of Grice's maxims, which specify clear (though broader) rules of interaction. Using these assumptions, such as the

importance of coherence, and the suggestion that there can be a generalised impression of how language works, Ng bases his approach on looking for repeated patterns that create impressions. Indeed, Ng has found consistent and useful findings related to multiple features of speech such as the use of interruptions and correlation of these with reported perceptions of different speaker's power (Ng, 2001, See Chapter 2 page 57). His approach is based on content analysis and observations of interactions where participants are interviewed afterwards to ask who was the most convincing. Research has explored how specific features of talk (e.g. longer speech turns and interruptions) seem to indicate, or have, particular power. However, with the development of a discursive psychology approach it is increasingly apparent that the direct observation of talk can reveal features that people might not notice in their talk about interactions or that researchers might not have thought to look for within their data. Indeed, Hepburn and Potter (2011a) argue that Ng's approach overlooks how power might be built up as the conversation evolves, by focusing on specific features taken out of context. Consequently, features of language become isolated and studied for their own interest, but these are not placed within the context of the entire interaction. Furthermore, Hepburn and Potter (2011a) argued that much of Ng and Bradac's (1993) theory is built on hypothetical rather than actual examples of talk, and that this is problematic as it imposes an assumption of what talk might be rather than examining what it is.

This debate can be developed further. For Ng, the focus is often on cultural differences, and in Ng (2007b) notes that Sacks' suggestion that interactions are best studied through rule based turns is problematic when people are considered across cultures. Ng suggests that the person who takes the floor to the greatest extent is often considered most

influential (Ng, Bell and Brooke, 1993; Ng, Brooke & Dunne, 1995; Reid and Ng, 2000; 2006). Ng (2007b) argues that what is overlooked is a cultural tendency to address multiple or singular addressee's and that where westernised cultures tend to address singular addressees, Chinese cultures tend to address multiple addressees. Thus in Chinese cultures false starts and simultaneous, rather than single person turn talking, as proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), is more common. Ng (2007b) also suggests that Grice's Maxims can more often be applied to westernised cultures. Hence it is argued here that a detailed examination of talk should not necessarily be ruled out, as Ng has suggested as there has been substantial progress made in understanding conversations at this detailed level. Nevertheless, Ng's work clearly highlights the importance of examining overlap in order to understand how influence works.

A further point of disagreement between Ng's approach and a discursive psychology approach relates to the degree to which cognitive theories are drawn on and included at a theoretical level. We can see from papers such as Ng and Lai (2009), that Ng held on to the idea of considering how socialisation and language relates to cognitive processing. Here the authors produced a cognitive priming experiment, where bilingual participants are primed with either Chinese or American cultural pictures and then their memories for words associated with the self, a personally influential other, a more distantly known other and an object are assessed. Chinese primes resulted in memory being better for all relationally associated words, rather than a main effect of self for American primes. The authors claimed that this suggested the existence of a complex cognitive schema of self that is culturally relative. While this clever study highlights how cultural frames might affect the ways that people operate, its methods are in clear contrast with a discursive

approach which prefers to examine cognition as it occurs in talk and to avoid inferences of underpinning cognitive processes (e.g. Edwards, 1997). Further, the approach overlooks the more complex rhetorical nature of the construction of self and the ways in which people might operate not just congruently with culture and others, but in response to others as advocated by Billig (1987/1996, 2002).

Ng's work appears to provide a useful insight into some of the ways that language might be relevant to power and influence. He highlighted features of conversations such as interruptions and holding the floor that seem related to greater influence of some speakers over others and also integrates how culturally generated power can operate through language, privileging those who can access the language and practices of the powerful. This provides a springboard to examine in more detail how a synthetic discursive psychology approach that similarly seeks to integrate detailed examination of conversations and broader cultural influence might shed light on how social influence is understood. However this work does not challenge fundamentally what may or may not be considered as social influence itself, the meanings that people may or may not ascribe to influence within their everyday lives nor engage with how people might rhetorically respond to potential influences in detail.

Discursive studies of Social Influence

A discursive approach presents a challenge to the 'scientific' hypothetico-deductive methodology that has evolved in traditional approaches. Nevertheless as Chapter 2 (page 33) argued, the early concerns about observational approaches (and discourse analysis involves the observation of talk) were around whether it was possible through these

approaches to go beyond common sense understandings. More recent advances in the understanding of discourse show this is possible. For example, the early proponents of CA sought to accommodate the central goals of ethnomethodology, that is, how to study common sense in everyday situations (Garfinkel 1967). The difficulty in studying common sense is that we often use it to understand situations, so the challenge is to reveal the common sense used by those that we are studying rather than to impose our own as researchers. Through detailed analysis of the organisation of the conversation it is assumed that the analyst's own imposition of common sense to interpret and understand the material can be reduced or even removed (a process that can be termed 'methodological situationalism' (ten Have, 2002; Knorr-Cetina, 1981,1988). CA achieves this by focusing on how people respond to previous turns, examining the details of turn by turn talk as interaction but without attention to the meanings that people are constructing. CDP adds to this by highlighting how power structures not only shape the ways that people operate, but also the ways that psychology itself might be studied. In this way these approaches have now developed in ways that enable the analysis of discourse to be revealing rather than a replication of common understandings.

As yet, there have been limited discursive psychology based studies that have considered social influence directly. What has been done has highlighted how persuasion can be considered as rhetoric and begun the detailed interactional study of influence strategies. Some studies have also identified concepts of influence and their usage (such as conformity and compliance) though these studies are not yet framed as part of a new approach to understanding social influence. This section outlines these research areas

and in doing so, builds more systematically a synthetic discursive approach to social influence.

Rhetoric and Persuasion

Michal Billig (1987/1996) set out an agenda for a rhetorical psychology in his book “Arguing and Thinking”. In Chapter 2 (page 52) we saw that he criticised the possibility of ever revealing precise rules that determine social influence. Billig suggested that instead the issue was to view people as always negotiating with each other, so that every utterance is always in response to another.

Billig’s broader focus has been on the rhetorical construction of ideologies and the nature of bigotry. From this angle he also examined the ways in which ideological dilemmas are constructed in conversation. Thus there is often an assumption that there is one way to explain things. However in practice it seems that claims are generally dilemmatic. People often present a claim that is in response to an alternative position (Billig, 1987/1996, 1991a, 1991b, 2002; Billig & MacMillan, 2006). Rather than simply adhere to an oppressive ideology, people can be seen to operate within an argumentative texture reacting and responding to the issues of the day so that they are continually reacting in response to something else in building up meanings. Thus from this perspective it might be suggested that we are always under the influence, as it were.

Recall from Chapter 2 (p.33) that observation approaches fell out of favour as being not scientific enough. The rationale for developing an experimental approach in psychology was in part, to differentiate scientific knowledge from theological or ‘common sense’

understandings of the world: to identify a kind of truth, not biased by people's interpretations. Billig provides an alternative method for engaging with this by starting with the ideological dilemmas and exploring the rhetorical arguments that people make, rather than dismissing these and trying to 'go beyond' them.

More recently Billig's imaginative approach to persuasion has been developed, to include a critique or reinterpretation of the work of psychologists including Petty and Brinol (Duran, 2011). Durran (2011) takes the notions of subject positioning and the rhetorical context that people are situated in to examine the ways in which targets and messages have been studied in persuasion research. For example, he draws on Drewery's (2008) suggestion that some statements can contain 'position calls' so that a person can construct an offer of a particular subject position. Further, Duran observes how the many persuasive appeals based on fear etc could be reinterpreted as taking up different parts of discourse and having implications for the competence of particular individuals.

Gibson (2011) took this work of reinterpretation further, by re-examining the actual audio data and transcripts used in traditional research. Gibson applied a rhetorical analysis to understand what went on in Milgram's original obedience studies. With this focus on the actual details of what was said, rather than what should have been said (according to the experimental protocol), Gibson revealed that even those participants who might have been considered as 'obedient' frequently engaged in complex negotiations with the experimenter. Further, the experimenter also deviated from the experimental protocol, producing the prompts in differing ways, which in turn influenced the rhetorical context of Milgram's experiments.

A rhetorical approach then forms a key element of the synthetic approach to discursive psychology that will be taken here. It addresses the issue of language and context by shifting the perspective from the reader to one that always expects a contrary opinion, and allows research that questions what a person might be rhetorically responding to.

Influence Tactics

For some researchers, Billig's rhetorical focus has not provided tight enough tools for analysis, prompting others to take a more fine grained approach to analysis. This section examines firstly how CA inspired DP has begun to tackle some areas of social influence, focusing on influence tactics and demonstrating the importance of how people are positioned by the very details of language. Secondly, it explores the germinating discursive research in organisational and leadership psychology and how within this more applied field, the importance of a synthetic approach to discourse incorporating both the fine details of conversation and the broader argumentative structure is seen.

Discursive psychology, advice giving and threats

Taking a DP approach Hepburn and Potter (2011a) recently produced the first empirical paper exploring how threats are conducted in practice as an influence tactic. Yet other topics such as attribution theory, scripts and emotions were reconceptualised by Edwards and Potter (1992), Edwards (1997) and Edwards (1999) over 10 years earlier. It is suggested here that the reason it has taken longer for social influence to be addressed in detail by discursive psychology is that there is a greater degree of complexity involved, as social influence has been traditionally conceptualised as a process. So firstly, whereas in re-specifying research on emotions it was possible to study emotion words and

descriptions, descriptions of talk about influence are less common within everyday interactions and CA/DP places more emphasis on this than the 'talk about' influence that might be gained from interview data. Secondly, the traditional approach has involved identifying some kind of change to either behaviour or attitude. However, Strauss (2004) argued the identification of opinions in talk can be difficult as they are so varied and frequently hedged (see also Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Thus, it is not so easy to identify a change of opinion directly in talk. Thirdly, when studied through CA/DP there is potential confusion in interpreting the data as revealing influence strategies in the traditional sense, as acontextual, fixed approaches to persuasion, rather than maintaining a reading of the data as revealing the multiple subtleties, actions and flexibilities in persuasive attempts and responses. This section explores the journey that DA has taken to reach the point where social influence can be more directly addressed through discursive methods.

Discursive psychologists working in the tradition of CA have sought to find events where traditional (or new) psychological phenomena occur and take a data driven approach. Part of the research background to Hepburn and Potter's recent analysis of threats comes from research on advice giving. This had drawn mostly on telephone helplines, where the call receiver is often institutionally required to suggest a course of action for the other to take up. A considerable amount of research has been conducted in this vein, providing an overview of how advice is offered (Shaw & Kitinger, 2007) and highlighting the range of difficulties in advice being taken up. Research findings include: the importance of listening first to the caller and carefully positioning advice (Shaw & Kitinger, 2007) and how advice giving can raise concerns of a potential threat to an advice seeker's

competence (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). The use of ambiguity as an important conversational tool for both agreement and disagreement simultaneously (Pudlinski, 2002) has also been explored, as well as how troubles telling turns to advice giving opportunities (Vehviläinen, 2001) and the considerable work that therapists have to do to prepare people for taking up advice (Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Importantly, when considered together these findings suggest that a broad range of social actions are at stake, or might be made relevant when a person attempts to suggest to another that they follow a particular course of action.

Traditional research on influence tactics suggests that the source intends to influence the target. Issues of intentionality are problematic in discursive research largely because the paradigmatic shift from traditional cognitive approaches that infer and assume individual intention are altered when we focus more directly on what people have said (Edwards, 2006; Hepburn & Potter, 2011a). Thus DP studies do not evidence the existence of agentic intention. However, they can illustrate how constructing intention in another can have social consequences. For example in the case of suspects, through subtle construction of intention by police officers they can be positioned in a way that suggests inevitable guilt (see Edwards 2008). This approach then adds complexity to how social influence can be understood. It suggests that rather than focus on the influence tactics that a person may or may not have used, it is important to focus on how they are later described as having influenced another. Indeed, the real existence of any intention is challenged, but what is relevant is the meaning created when intention is raised as a concern.

Coercion is also an issue that has been raised for DP. Recent work has built on the concept of recipient design, that is how an utterance is designed for a particular audience

and now more recently, how recipients might be designed (as doing a particular activity) to examine this issue. For example Stivers and Rossano (2010) suggested that some utterances can place more pressure on the recipient to respond, dependent on the design features of an utterance. The implication that conversants can be placed 'under pressure' appears to align these CA/DP approaches more strongly with traditional understandings of social influence. However, Stivers and Rossano's paper has created considerable debate and discussion over whether this pressure can actually be assumed from the data. Nevertheless it opened up the door to suggest that it was possible to argue that some statements are coercive, and still be true to a CA/DP perspective.

Hepburn and Potter (2011b) developed these ideas of coercion in their studies of advice giving, suggesting that over the course of a conversation, declarative + tag questions can be used 'in a way that is both coercive (attempting to alter the recipient's conduct) and invasive (by virtue of their interactional reconstruction of features of the recipient's psychology)' (Hepburn and Potter 2011b, p. 220). Hepburn and Potter explore the management and resistance of advice on helplines, suggesting 3 main patterns. Firstly, where advice is resisted the call taker goes on to re-package it in an idiomatic form. Secondly, they might also use a tag question that prefers agreement. Here, the speaker can be considered to be 'designing the recipient', ignoring their previous resistance and framing them as having agreed. Thus, they argue:

'In terms of basic social psychological matters, one party is not so much persuading the other as rebuilding them as already persuaded. In this sense it is not as interactionally coercive as, say, issuing a directive or threat, a common practice in adult/child interactions' (Hepburn and Potter 2011b, p.236).

Finally, they suggest that call takers can continue past the transition relevance place³ so that the caller is 'conversationally pinioned in their (presupposed) agreement with the content of the idiom (which itself constructs the self-evidently appropriate nature of action in line with the advice).' (*ibid*, p236.)

The link between coercion and recipient design was important for Hepburn and Potter's (2011a) recent critique of social influence, to which we now return. In this paper they provide an account of threats at meal times, where they make direct links to the traditional social influence literature. Hepburn and Potter's approach was to explore threats identified intuitively from video talk. From their corpus they suggested that a threat follows an 'if x then y' structure. For example: "if you carry on whining and whining during breakfast time I'll send you to the bottom step" (Hepburn & Potter, 2011a, p105). This work is not presented as a comprehensive approach to social influence and threats, but rather an introduction to some of the concepts and issues that are relevant. Importantly for this thesis, Hepburn and Potter suggested that traditional approaches to social influence research have not explored what researchers actually mean by concepts such as threats (in addition to overlooking the interactional context). They argue that through the study of naturalistic interactions such as family mealtimes it becomes possible to explore these meanings in more detail, including the ways in which responses are complied with. For example they identify variations in compliance, including minimal compliance where a child partially responded to the threat.

³ A Transition Relevance Place (TRP) is a point in a conversation where it might be relevant for the next speaker to start talking.

This paper also deals with how agency is constructed in talk. For example, Hepburn and Potter explored the role or the use of 'I' in claiming agency and how the lack of 'I' as agency might build what is being said more as an expected social norm. For example:

- 1 Mum: If you don' eat your dinner:, (0.4)
- 2 There'll be no pudding.

Hepburn and Potter suggest a number of reasons for the lack of use of 'I' in the suggestion of contingent consequences, one of which might be invoking this as a norm. The use or not of agency within conversations in this way is one area Potter and Hepburn set up as a useful approach to future research.

Thus a fine detailed approach enables analysis of how different utterances are made interactionally relevant. It allows the analyst to breakdown the moment by moment unfolding of conversation and to observe how psychology itself is moderated at a micro level.

Organisations, Leadership and influence

Influence tactics as shown in Chapter 2, have received a considerable amount of attention in organisational and leadership psychology. This is particularly relevant for this thesis as the empirical focus is the livery yard which is a business organisation. Further, these applied concerns have also led researchers to take a more synthetic approach, accommodating both micro and macro language contexts.

The turn to discourse in organisational research was fuelled by the challenge of matching leadership strategies as they happen in everyday talk with appropriate contexts (Iedema, 2003; Iedema, Rhodes, & Scheeres, 2006). Discursive research in a CA/DP framework is beginning to identify the considerable flexibility that is required in use of these strategies as illustrated by Chan (2007) in his study of work group, involving multi-party interactions. Chan (2007) used a CA based method to analyse meetings talk to explore how people do 'authority'. He explored how the same manager made requests in 3 very different ways, ranging from a very polite and face saving approach, to a more authoritative approach that is then mitigated by others, to finally a very authoritative and face saving approach. The research examines the different places within the meeting in which these different approaches occur, which was important as related social actions were relevant to exploring how influence worked. For example, the group's responses also contributed to enabling the manager to act, or constraining him by at times 'heading off' a reprimand through getting an account in first. So the manager did not simply threaten his subordinates but negotiated the outcome that he desired, saving the face⁴ of subordinates.

Chan's research clearly challenged the simple cause and effect relationships derived from experimental approaches, suggesting there were a broader range of 'contingencies' of effect than these theories would assume. Indeed, Fairhurst (2007) argued that this type of discursive approach began to take apart and explore discourse in action. Importantly,

⁴ 'Face Saving' is a term coined by Goffman, in his studies of interaction. It emphasises the importance of maintaining a positive outward identity. Use of different terms is covered in Chapter 4, p.114.

although a fine grained analysis highlights flexibility in talk and as Chan (2007) illustrated, can explore management strategies directly, it can remove the access to the social meanings or argumentative context (Billig, 1999b) and overlook some of the meanings that individuals construct in their talk (Wetherell, 2007). Indeed it might be suggested that the findings of a detailed study of the practices of social influence only, although understood in the sense of particular social actions, might result in the identification of patterns that at least appear to the untrained eye to reflect quite similarly the approach of traditional social influence researchers. Without critically examining the meanings that people are orientating to as they are engaging with these social practices and still calling the research itself a study of social influence, the gap between social practices and how these are talked about by both participants and analysts/psychologists cannot be addressed. Indeed, researchers such as Larsson and Lundholm (2010) proposed that greater theoretical understanding of concepts such as leadership and influence tactics was required. Further it has been suggested that a discursive analysis of concepts such as influence and leadership would be particularly beneficial in exploring how these meanings are used by people within organisations (Chen, 2008; Fairhurst, 2007).

In pursuit of this broader approach, Larsson and Lundholm (2010) invoked a synthetic approach to discourse analysis including both fine detailed analysis, and using an ethnographic inspired method to capture the broader cultural influence in line with the approach of Margaret Wetherell and Michael Billig. Such a synthetic approach is finding increasing favour (e.g. Edley 2001; Seymour-Smith and Wetherell 2006 Taylor 2010; Hanson-Easy 2011). This synthetic approach was inspired mainly by Wetherell (1998; 2003; 2007) and her suggestion that analysis of talk at multiple levels enables

psychologists to draw out the personal meanings, mapping of power inequalities and social orders. In particular she suggested that personal meanings are important if discourse analysis is to address psychological issues. Hence to develop a psychological understanding of social influence it is not just important to consider social practices but also to observe the personal investments and meanings that individuals produce within these practices. Wetherell (2007) and Taylor (2010) suggested that people talk through their own personal order (through linguistic repertoires and subject positions) and these ways of talking can make people more invested in particular positions (Wetherell 2007). Further, Wetherell (2007) also referred to linguistic ethnography as a useful approach for viewing how culture and language are entwined, setting the scene for using ethnographic inspired approaches for data collection, as in Larsson and Lundholm's (2010) research.

In applying this synthetic approach Larsson and Lundholm (2010) suggested that leaders not only construct different strategies of influence, but also invoke particular visions as they discuss ideas in mundane conversation. They argued that this development of meaning and visions was a part of the identity project of leadership. In this sense even the identity of leaders can be considered as identities in progress rather than as fixed identities. This project illustrates how a synthetic approach to discourse analysis that maintains a critical questioning of the concepts studied and how they are relevant to people provides a useful method of exploding the concept of social influence. The examination of the relationship between identities and influence will be taken up further in Chapter 7.

Conformity and Compliance

Billig, Hepburn and Potter and Larsson and Lundholm have all raised questions about the theoretical understandings of different aspects of social influence. It is suggested here that the critical element of a synthetic approach to discourse analysis is exactly that, to question the concepts under study. Critical questioning is important both of what researchers are conceptualising as social influence, and also what everyday people consider by this, and consider is relevant to their lives. One way of taking a participant perspective is to explore how participants orientate themselves to being influenced and influencing others, which seems as yet under researched. Two interesting studies detailed further here illustrate how such an approach might be developed, though they have not been framed by the authors as studies of social influence directly.

Firstly a study by Peel, Parry, Douglas, and Lawton (2005) explored people's compliance with their treatment for diabetes. This study illustrates how terms which appear simple such as compliance or non-compliance, might relate to more complex meanings when non influence experts discuss them. Within the healthcare environment diabetic patients are normatively constructed by professionals as either complying or not with medical advice. Little scope is given to accommodating or exploring the ways in which patients themselves construct meanings. Though the study was around compliance, participants used terms such as 'cheating' and took personal responsibility (particularly women) for their diets. Participants drew on social stories of childhood and motherhood, time and addiction which provided a much broader and richer notion of whether they followed their diets than the compliance / non-compliance formulation of behavioural accounts.

Focusing on participants' interviews where conformity is an issue can also reveal a reflexive awareness of participants, through use of language, of issues of conformity. For example, Widdicombe (2011) interviewed people in Syria about their religion and noted that people often identified with some aspects but not all, of a particular religion. Widdicombe characterised this as an 'X but not Y' formulation. For example, participants stated: 'I am a believer but not a conformist'. Widdicombe suggested that in this way people are able to identify with the more positive aspects of their religion and to reject the negative ones. Taking these findings one stage further it could be argued that this suggests that people demonstrate their awareness in talk of the influence that might be going on, or of the potentially negative notions of the concept of influence itself. This approach is taken up in Chapter 5.

Conclusion: Extending the discursive hand in social influence

This chapter began by exploring the limitations of earlier considerations of language in the understanding of social influence, including identifying difficulties with method and in particular how language has been theorised. It introduced a discursive alternative and explored some of the areas of research that have been started in this field and some approaches that might be used to explore social influence, such as considering how meanings of influence are constructed by people themselves.

By drawing on a synthetic approach to discursive psychology, including more critical approaches, rhetorical discourse analysis and conversation analysis it has been suggested that there are multiple meanings and ways that social influence could be understood.

Some of these different areas have included how people might orientate to different meanings of social influence as they interact, examining practices of influence, questioning how these are defined, and exploring the relationship of influence with aspects of identity such as leadership. However, it is unclear how these ways of constructing social influence work or how they might relate to each other. Thus, this chapter has introduced a gap in social psychologists' understanding of social influence that suggests a language focused approach to social influence could raise important new insights. This raises the research question:

how might social influence be understood when a discursive approach to language is taken?

Chapter 4: Research Method and Context

The development of new understandings of social influence provides an exciting opportunity to reflect on the contribution of methods. Chapters 2 and 3 have both illustrated how different methods can reveal different aspects of social influence. However, it has also been shown that at times research methods can levy a particular conceptualisation of influence onto a study. Thus careful consideration has been given here to the design of a study that could open up new and intriguing ways of conceiving social influence and would also encourage and embrace a reflexive awareness of the imposition of methodology.

The broad methodological framework was that of synthetic discursive psychology, introduced in Chapter 3. The current chapter presents a methodological design that seeks to maintain the theoretical notion of language as active and to explore how influence is both done in interaction and talked about. To provide an opportunity for a more detailed understanding of how social influence is tied to context the design is ethnographically inspired. This approach will allow a rich description of the empirical context. It underpins how excerpts of talk will be selected for analysis and enables a meaningful interpretation of the discursive practices related to social influence that people engage in. The ethnographic design produced a considerable amount of data and material, all of which unfortunately could not be included in this thesis. Thus this chapter also considers how the data was selected for inclusion and the ways in which the analysis was developed.

The context of this research, as introduced in Chapter 1, was the livery yard. This focused the research on particular forms of social influence. This context allowed the detailed analysis of group and dyadic interactions in a context where people frequently expressed concerns about being influenced (See Chapter 1, page 19).

The aims of this chapter are two fold. Firstly, to detail the method that was used within this research. Secondly, it will offer an introduction to the empirical context that forms the focus of this research, outlining some of the initial ethnographic observations that form the background to the detailed analytic chapters to follow.

The chapter begins by presenting the research design. It will then consider ethical issues including how access was gained to the focal livery yard context. It moves on to examine how the data was collected before engaging in a rich description of the research context. Finally, it outlines how the method of discursive analysis will be used in the following empirical chapters (Chapters 5-7).

Design

The research design was similar to that of Larsson and Lundholm (Chapter 3, page 84) taking a synthetic approach to discursive psychology and using an ethnographically inspired participant observation to collect discursive data. Discourse analysis was used in order to develop understandings of social influence in the ways summarised in the conclusion of Chapter 3 (page 87).

The use of an ethnographic inspired method allowed me to immerse myself in the data and develop a good understanding of the range of topics and meanings that people used in discourse, facilitating a more meaning soaked reading of the data. Data collected included photographs, ethnographic notes, a research diary, audio and video recordings of everyday activities and short interviews focusing on influence related issues within the yard. Data collection was driven by discursive psychology and as a result the majority of the data was in the form of audio and video recorded interactions. While in the yard I captured interactions and discussions that formed part of the everyday life of the livery yard in addition to following up events that I considered were related to social influence. Most of the selection of the material that was most helpful for understanding social influence was done at the analysis stage.

The ethnography lasted 11 months during which time I attended the yard twice a week and frequently also on a third day. The extended time period of this study enabled a temporal dimension to be included within the research, rather than understandings being confined to snapshots of particular events. This method could therefore address the frequent critique of discursive psychology that its findings are confined to immediate situations, addressing change but not stability of meanings. Indeed, Taylor (2006, 2010, Taylor & Littleton, 2006) has suggested that focusing on a local geographical area over a long period of time can be particularly beneficial for identifying how repeated patterns of discourse are used. The use of a longitudinal study enabled reflection not just on the immediate construction and negotiation of forms of social influence, but also on the historical trajectory of this process.

The livery yard context was particularly appropriate as it was an environment where people spent a considerable amount of time talking about their horses and each other. It provided a naturally bounded group. Rather than being a stranger and conducting research in environments less familiar as in traditional ethnographic research (Kostera, 2007), this was an environment that I was very familiar with (although I did not previously know these people). I found it was useful to apply my knowledge of the field, particularly in terms of facilitating access. It is notable that ethnographies in more familiar environments are becoming increasingly common and can provide greater insight into the relevant debates (Mercer, 2010). However, it was difficult at times when I disagreed with what another had said and when later I listened to the recordings and could hear myself siding with one or other person in debates.

Ethics

Before the data collection began, ethical approval was sought from the Open University (See Appendix 1, page 240). Every effort was made to comply with the British Psychological Society ethical guidelines (British Psychological Society (2006) updated to British Psychological Society (2009) part way through the research) and the Open University ethical guidelines for research with human participants (OU, 2006). The main ethical issues related to the yard being a small community and the risk of participants being locally known or recognized. This meant that careful consideration was required in relation to how the data was fed back to participants. Participants were provided with a summary of findings that did not include analysis of specific transcripts in case the analysis was misunderstood. The only personal data held by the researcher was the contact details of the yard, which is also publically accessible on line. Consent forms were kept which included full names, but no other personal data such as contact telephone

numbers, names or addresses were held. This complied with the Data Protection Act (1998), and the Open University guidelines (for the storage of data). The research data was stored on an encrypted hard drive which was kept in a locked filing cabinet.

All participants were given a detailed information sheet about the study and the opportunity to discuss it and ask questions (See Appendix 2, page 243), before being asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 3, page 246). None of the participants had engaged in this form of research before and so care was taken to make sure that they understood the process. Additional verbal consent was sought on each occasion that cameras were set up in the yard, from all the participants present on that day. All participants were aware of the location of the cameras. It was explained that the interest was on social relations within livery yards. After the data collection was completed this was expanded to say there was a specific interest in how one person influenced another. Where vets and others visited the yard, I provided them with information about the research and consent forms where they might have been involved in the data collection. Following the research, I organized a presentation of my findings to the yard and we engaged in a discussion of the research process and how this felt for them. I again emphasized the right to withdraw and took care in maintaining anonymity.

Throughout the write up pseudonyms have been used to help protect people's identity and care has been taken in the selection of transcripts so that identities would not be revealed. I have spoken directly with Zara (the yard owner) around the chapter on influential identities and she has given me permission to include this material.

Gaining Access

Eight potential livery yards were identified in the South West of the UK. Of these yards three were already known to the researcher through personal contacts. Initial contact was made with the yard owners by telephone, email, or face to face visits to explore whether or not they were interested in participating with the research. Out of these yards, three yards did not respond, two replied saying they would not have the time and three further yards were interested in taking part. One yard was selected for the main study as the participants showed the most interest and the yard included a reasonably contained group of 11 regular liveries at the time of access. Initial contact was made with the focal yard by telephone and a subsequent follow up visit where the participant observation approach of the research was explained to the yard owner and information sheets discussed (See Appendix 2, page 243). The owner was told that this was a study of communication in livery yards and not that the main focus would be on social influence at this stage. The main concern in gaining access was that liveries would not be upset in anyway and that the study would not involve too much time from the yard owner or staff. The yard owner agreed in principle and then staff and liveries were approached individually, attempting as closely as possible to apply Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) approach of negotiating access through dual routes so as not to alienate either party. One staff member did not want to be included and so the research was conducted on her non-working days. People generally received the research well. At this initial stage, discussions of the research took place with multiple people interested in horses, including the vets, saddlers, and horse owners not based in a yard. This and the conversations with the other two yards provided a useful background for analysis, some of which is included in Chapter 1 (page 19).

Data Collection

Data was collected over the course of 11 months during which time I spend at least two days of the week in the livery yard. I first entered the yard on September 3rd 2009. I initially sought to get to know the yard members, obtain informed consent and take notes on the routines and rituals within the yard. In October 2009, audio recordings were collected alongside photographs of the everyday activities of the yard, supported by ethnographic notes. Material was recorded in two ways. Firstly, a video camera was set up at the end of the internal stable block, looking down the stables. Secondly, a Dictaphone was carried in order to capture further conversations and interactions. The researcher carried the notebook and Dictaphone openly to remind people she was a researcher, as much as to take notes (as per Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). A great deal of time was spent chatting to different liveries, staff and the yard owner. In total, 210 hours of audio data were collected, along with 20 hours of video recorded material, 20 individual interviews and 50 photographs. The notes filled 5 size A5 notebooks.

Participant Observation

I was a participant observer, who took part in the day to day activities of the yard, including mucking out, filling haynets⁵, sweeping the yard, exercising the horses and acting as a groom at events. I spent time on different days with staff, chatting to liveries and helping Zara, the owner. I collected notes around conversations that seemed interesting and relevant for example, where horse care options were discussed, or someone appeared to persuade the other, but this initial focus was not maintained. The

⁵ Haynets are used to hold hay for horses to eat. They allow a weighed amount of hay to be fed.

longer I attended the yard the harder it became to consider in the moment what may or not be related to social influence. I therefore resorted to capturing as many of the interactions as possible on audio and video tape alongside making copious notes which often reflected more on whether situations were relevant for a study of social influence, rather than selecting which events to focus on at that time. Thus the observations became increasingly directed by participants' individual interests, rather than the theoretical interests of the research. It has been suggested that this approach can be more revealing and reduce the masking that can happen by attempting to 'look for' events that support a theory (Rampton, 2006, 2007). This seemed particularly appropriate for a research project seeking new revelations related to social influence.

A further dilemma during the data collection emerged around my own position as a researcher. In the initial phases of the research, I attempted to maintain a greater distance and to place greater emphasis on my role as an observer than a participant, a stranger in a field that I knew. However, this was difficult to maintain and even felt uncomfortable as the research progressed and I came to know the participants very well. Initially I was concerned that if I intervened to focus on a particular area I would miss how these issues were related to others within the yard. As the journey progressed I became more and more involved in the daily practices and negotiations and it did not seem to matter that I was not staff, a rider or a livery. I had my own horses and that seemed to bring me into the group. This also felt like I was capturing a more natural environment in the sense that my behaviours were not 'forced'; I had learned to become a part of the yard. Thus I resorted to a regular routine of recording as much audio talk as I could during the time I was there, starting and stopping the Dictaphone and setting up the

video camera when there were more people around in particular places. I kept a reflective journal in which I wrote notes after leaving the yard and would include reflections and thoughts just before I arrived on the yard. These notes included thoughts on whether particular current discussions in the yard related to social influence in any way and general notes on how people related to each other. Where there were particular themes that I wanted to focus on or perhaps ask questions about (such as conversations where people were offering each other advice) it was useful to have the note book as an aide memoire. This approach was particularly helpful, as I mostly attended the yard on a Saturday and a Thursday, so there was a gap between sessions.

Interviews

Despite the critique that has been offered of interviews as often being interpreted in ways that do not acknowledge the research context in enough detail (Potter & Hepburn, 2005), interviews are considered by several researchers to be valuable in eliciting the meaning making that participants bring to their lives (e.g. Edley, 2001; McAvoy, 2009; Seymour-Smith & Wetherell, 2006a; Taylor, 2010).

A small number of open ended interviews were conducted with staff and liveries. These included 8 interviews directly focused on influence, persuasion and advice giving. These interviews were organised around key themes, rather than specific questions.

Participants were asked about advice giving in livery yards, whether they ever gave any advice, whether they received advice, what types of things were helpful, and what types of things were less helpful. This very open style was used as it fitted with participants' expectations of my research and was flexible enough to fit the time slots that people had.

Interview duration ranged between 10 and 45 minutes. These interviews provided the opportunity to explore how social influence was relevant and important to individuals and consider how people talked about social influence. It allowed understandings to be developed of how people were making sense of influence within this context. In this way it was possible to reflect on the personal order that people might have been imposing at particular points, not just in the interviews but in the naturalistic conversations that were also captured (Taylor, 2010; Wetherell, 2007, 2012).

A further twelve short follow up mini-interviews were conducted after particular events. Out of these, four were conducted around an issue where a livery was seeking advice about colic (reported in Chapter 5), two were conducted around a concern about a saddle fitting a horse, three around a horse being lame and three following the receipt of training on the yard. These supported a number of general conversations held in the yard, which also provided opportunities to clarify how or whether yard members perceived other people as influencing them.

Asking people directly about occasions where advice was offered to them or where they felt advice had been issued helped to develop a wider sense of the meanings that people related to social influence. Although imposing a researcher's agenda this expanded the ways in which meanings could be explored. Further, this type of discussion allowed participants greater involvement with the research as they were also able to present their perspective on social influence.

Textual data

In addition to the observational and interview data, textual data was also collected.

Although some people treat transcripts and notes as textual data, this term is used here to refer to the data collected that is in written form in its original state. This included government documents pertaining to the running of livery yards and additional documentation such as the BHS registration of the yard, the rules of the yard and the livery contract. During the time of the study, copies of relevant equestrian journals were obtained including *Horse and Hound*, *Your Horse*, *Horse*, *Horse and Rider*, *British Dressage Magazine* and the *BHS Horse Magazine (September 2009 – October 2010 inclusive)*.

Regular reviews were made of online discussion forums which were used as background sources to explore the outlay of the broader political context. Some of these sources were referred to in Chapter 1. These sources were used to draw out understandings of the broader political context of livery yards in the UK, that is, debates around welfare evident at government level and in the national press. They also supported an awareness of the legal requirements of livery yards and the ways in which this livery yard was positioned in a broader social, economic, and political context. This material helped to make sense of why some topics of conversation became more frequently discussed.

Research context

This section presents an overview of the research context based mainly on the participant observation data from the research. This provides important background for the analysis presented in Chapters 5-7. A detailed description of the context here helps to show how the analysis to come is embedded in the context of the livery yard and relates to people's everyday lives. Many of the meanings and discursive resources that people used in

influence practices were drawn from this specific setting and the relationships that people had with each other.

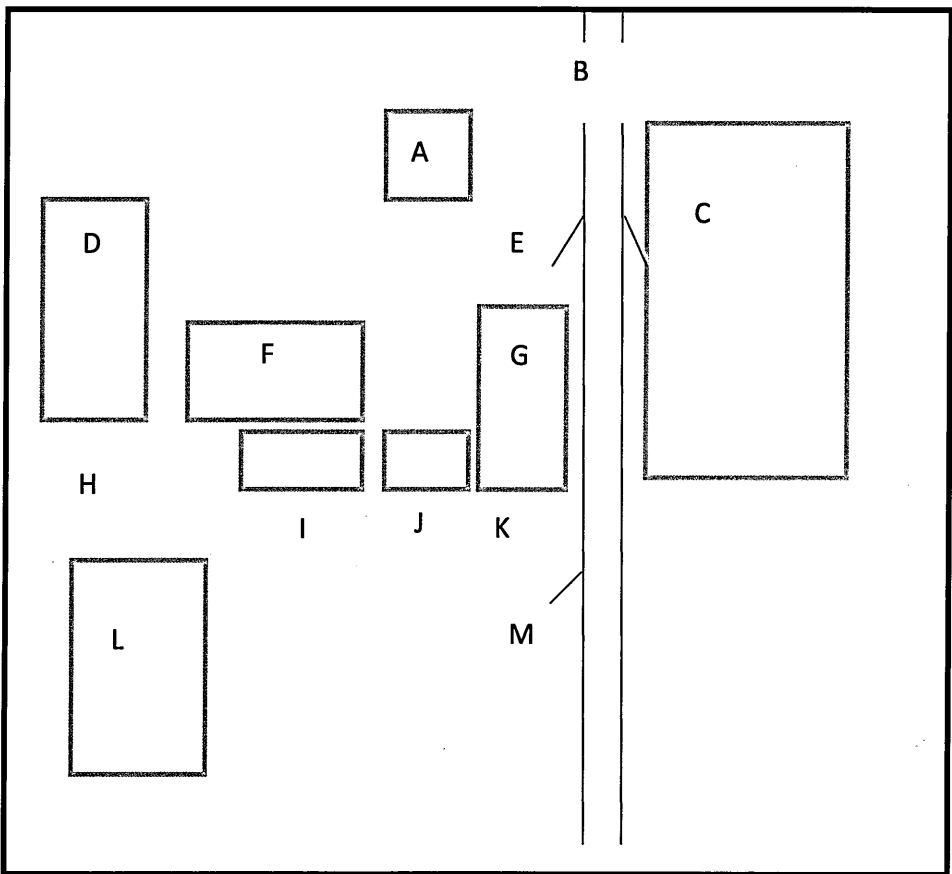
Setting

The livery yard chosen for my research context is situated in a rural part of the south west of the UK some 30 miles from any city. Located in a traditionally farming community, it is part of the increasing turn to equestrianism seen in many parts of the rural economy.

The yard is a small family business employing three staff at the time that I was there. The yard provided predominantly full or part time livery. Full livery is where every need of the horse is catered for including exercise and so the owner does not need to attend unless they wish. With part livery exercising of the horse is not included. There were also a limited number of DIY liveries, that is, do it yourself. With this type of livery, owners pay for the rent of the stable and turnout, and care for the horse themselves though they have the option to pay for additional services.

A map of the layout of the yard is shown below (Figure 1). On arrival, people enter through the gate marked E on Figure 1. As is clear from the map, the yard is right next to the yard owner (Zara's) house (A), and this distance is less than 10 metres. There are two main blocks of indoor stables, a small four stable unit for ponies (J) and a longer eight stable row (F). There are four further stables beyond this (D) and across the small track is a quarantine box (C) making seventeen stables in total.

Figure 1: Block map of the yard layout



Key:

- A – House
- B - Road
- C - Parking and quarantine stable
- D – Outside stables
- E – Main gate
- F – Indoor stables
- G – Tack Room and store
- H – Muck Heap
- I – Feed Room
- J - Pony stables
- K – Hay store
- L – Riding arena / school/ ménage
- M – Second gate



Figure 2: Stone yard where people arrived

During my research, people frequently congregated in the indoor stable block (F) or the stone yard (between F and G, Figure 1, also pictured in Figure 2) for cups of tea and a chat and a considerable amount of data was collected from these times. Liveries could make their own tea in the tack room (G), and the yard boasted good facilities, including a 20 x 40m exercise arena (also termed a school or a ménage, L), as well as off road local hacking (riding out) which went up onto the moors. Descriptions of these benefits were noted to be used rhetorically when suggesting that the yard was a good place to keep your horse.

Participants and their social relationships

The participants included the yard owner Zara, her husband and daughter (although her daughter was then mostly living away). In September 2009 when I arrived on the yard

there were also 3 members of staff. There were 11 liveries (people who paid to keep their horses at the yard). Also, three ladies visited and rode particular horses of Zara's. Details of the participants whose data appears in the thesis can be found in table 1.

Table 1: Participants whose data was analysed

Owner family	Liveries	Staff	Riders
Zara	Caroline – Livery for 1 year, used to train Zara. Owns 'Peg' her daughter's pony.	Jay – mum owns horse ('Potter') kept at livery for 2 years	Pat – rider for 3 years of 'princess'
	Eliza – Livery for 2 years, loaned horse, 'Jerry'.		Melissa – started riding 'Zip' for Zara in November 2009
	Jen (Occasional staff), purchased 'Bronty' in December 2009.		Rachel – Groom for Zara and rides generally.
	Ginny (Livery of 2 years), left shortly after completion of the research. Owns 'Jenna'.		Gemma – Rides Mervin, arrived December 2009
	Josephine (DIY) ⁶ , also yard manager, livery for 10 years. Owns 'Dynasty'.		
	Karen (DIY), livery for 10 years. Owns 'Dobin'.		
	Sally , livery for 18 months, owns 'Larry'.		
	Sandra , livery for 2 years. Owns 'Gem', her horse and 'Star' her daughter's pony, also		

⁶ Karen and Josephine were the only DIY liveries on the yard, the remainder were Part Liveries. For definitions see page 100.

	kept at livery.		
	Chloe , young livery for 2 years, owns 'Jelly'		

Through the year some of these liveries changed: two liveries left (Sally and Ingrid). Jen acquired a new horse and two further riders arrived (Melissa and Gemma). Some people also owned more than one horse. The participants’ ages were between 16 and 64 and the liveries were women between 40 and 60. There was a male rider who occasionally visited (Gemma’s husband) and Melissa sometimes brought her husband to the yard. Most liveries were in full time employment, although 3 were retired and 2 were housewives.

Within the broad social group, participants tended to socialise with others who were on the yard at the same time, or perhaps whose horses were situated in neighbouring or close stables. For example, Eliza and Sandra often rode out together and their horses were stabled opposite each other in the indoor stable block (F). Eliza was the youngest livery, in her twenties and worked as a full time teacher. Sandra in contrast was a housewife. Both ladies were relatively affluent and enjoyed a similar level of riding interests such as hacking and occasional riding club dressage. Jay, the member of staff captured mostly in the data used here, would also often ride out with this pair when she was not working. Jay had worked in the yard for over two years and had always worked with horses commenting that she did not know anything else. She struggled financially but worked hard and was always a cheerful influence within the yard. The staff mostly

had multiple jobs and worked between two and three hours in the morning and afternoon.

Karen and Josephine were also longstanding friends both holding honorary DIY livery positions as they had been on the yard in excess of ten years. They would often share the care of each other's horses and ride out together. Pat also had joined the friendship more recently having been on the yard at the time of my arrival for three years as a rider of one of Zoe's horses, Princess.

Caroline and Ginny were also good friends and often spent time chatting though Ginny was a less frequent visitor to the yard. However this pair seemed to share a similar socio-economic background both coming from excessively affluent backgrounds. Caroline's relationship with the yard and Zara was particularly interesting in terms of power relationships as she had previously been Zara's trainer.

Jen and Sally also often spent time riding out together. Sally had been on the yard for 18 months. She was very careful in how she organised her horse's care and also had considerable financial backing. Jen by contrast worked particularly hard to keep her horse in the yard. She worked long shifts in a garden centre and would also do odd jobs for Zara to supplement the cost of the horse's livery. She had bought her current horse for £1 as the previous owner had been going to have him put down. She worked desperately hard to nurse him back to health.

Melissa also appears in the data presented here. Melissa had given up keeping her own horse a few years ago and came to the yard to ride one of Zara's horses for her. She arrived in November 2009.

In addition to these friendship groupings, the yard was also characterised by power relationships. The yard is organised in a particular way that intertwines and positions people in terms of their knowledge, experience and social standing within the yard. As the yard owner Zara is highly respected as the last person to ask should difficulties emerge. Josephine is often the first person to be consulted for advice. Josephine is frequently described as Zara's deputy. She has a broad experience of horses and has worked with and kept horses all her life. Josephine often takes charge when Zara is away and as such arguably has a stake in positioning herself as knowledgeable and her advice as appropriate to this role. She is respected by other members of the yard. Nevertheless, power struggles for establishing who has the greatest knowledge or experience do occur, particularly when Zara is away or not present, so arguably this is not a "fixed" structure or pattern but one that is continuously reconstructed between people on the yard. There is sometimes a kind of tug between people to establish who is "allowed" to make decisions and who has the knowledge and experience to do so, explored in Chapter 7. There is a keen emphasis on making sure that horse owners are happy in the yard and this sometimes conflicts with some of the different ideas that staff and owners bring.

These relationships give light to what can be described as the economic and social orders affecting the yard. There was an internal social order in the sense of the ways that

friendships worked, Zara's position as the yard owner, and the way in which the yard was more broadly positioned in the UK, within debates about livery yard registration and standards of animal welfare in livery yards. Yet at the same time this intersects with the economic order, where staff were paid for the work that they did within the yard and liveries paid for their horse to be cared for.

Routines and socialisation

The routines changed slightly from Winter to Summer as the horses were managed either inside stables or in fields. In 2009/2010 the winter period for horse care lasted longer, due to rains in early 2010. During this time the horses were stabled and turned out for short periods. Grooms would arrive at around 05.30/06.00 am and begin feeding all of the horses hard feed and hay and then muck out. Large and small haynets were prepared for the next 24 hours and tied outside each of the stables and then the yard and indoor stable area would be swept. At around 09.30 / 10.00am Zara or one of the grooms would usually make a cup of tea for anyone who was around. Liveries or riders would generally arrive at around this time. People would often stop and chat over tea and organize who was going to ride out with whom that morning. This was a key time for data collection as people would often discuss the difficulties that they were having and use this time to ask Zara for advice. After tea people would then ride out and the stables would be mucked out again before dinner. There was then usually a rest for dinner before re-starting afternoon stables. In the summer months the routine was changed in that the horses would be out overnight and come in during the day and fields rather than stables were mucked out so people were more spread out and there was less talk while working. Fields were at varying distances from the main yard. Some were around a ten minute walk away. People would generally go in pairs to collect horses. Staff worked fixed

mornings and afternoons each week mostly three or four sessions. Most liveryies visited two or three times a week, with Saturday mornings being the busiest days. Some, such as Josephine, would be there everyday. I visited on a Saturday as this was the busiest day and on a Thursday to capture the yard at different times. On some weeks I would attend on additional days in order to capture particular events.

In addition to the everyday routines, the yard would also organise social events (normally lead by Pat) and meet at a local pub or café for lunch, or arrange special evenings out for Christmas, or just for social occasions. These events were not recorded, as this felt like an intrusion on people's personal lives.

Impressions of discourses

This section highlights some of the impressions that I observed of different discourses that seemed to circulate in the yard. A small selection of these, that seemed relevant for understanding social influence and which are helpful for understanding the analysis to follow, are discussed here. These discourses include the way that I felt persuaded that this was a 'good' yard on arrival and debates around equine welfare. Further, discourses of amateur and professional riders were important. These appeared to produce power divisions that seemed to create a background for some having a greater right to influence others.

The first discursive thread that struck me was the way in which all of the participants seemed to focus on describing this yard as a 'good livery yard'. People told me how I might really want to compare this with 'other' yards they had been in in the past, that had been truly unpleasant and that it would be important to understand. This rhetorical

construction of this as a good yard, as opposed to a bad yard, potentially reflected an orientation to me as a stranger, somehow formal with my notebook, in an informal setting. It was important to maintain the 'good face' of the livery yard. The nature of the good livery yard was characterised as people in this yard supporting each other. Yard members often described themselves as a large "family". This is contrasted with the "bullying" that goes on in other yards and the "cliquey" nature of other yards, which is described as a situation where particular small groups of horse owners exclude others. People describe very negative and even frightening experiences in other yards where they have been dominated by other people. As such there is often an emphasis on maintaining kind and polite interactions with yard members, reflected in the ways in which people interact with each other; for example, people very rarely directly challenged each other.

Associated with the construction of the yard as "good", were descriptions of high standards in equine welfare. The issue of responsibility to the horses in terms of welfare frequently arises. People describe instances of horse abuse in other yards, such as in one account I was told of a horse having been left on a horse walker and dying in another yard, and another left tied up and not fed overnight. In contrast, this yard emphasises its professional affiliations to the BHS (British Horse Society) supporting a sense of expertise in terms of equine welfare. There was a sense of pride in providing a clean and knowledgeable home for the horses it cares for. This keen emphasis was something that I had not before noticed as a livery myself in different contexts and as an observer I was surprised at the considerable frequencies of discussions about what was cruel and kind to horses.

There was also a sense that the exact nature of what was cruel and kind to horses was ‘up for grabs’. As Birke (2009) has observed there are considerable dilemmas in the equine community around natural and traditional forms of horsemanship, with people advocating very different ways of caring for their horses as important. In the context of this yard, ascribing legitimacy to the way that welfare was managed seemed related to a division between ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ horse owners. This was related to what people did with their horses – some were serious competitors in an affiliated⁷ environment often associated with a more ‘professional’ approach and knowledge. Others were ‘happy hackers’⁸ just wanting to enjoy hacking their horses out. This activity was more often associated with ‘amateur’ knowledge. Generally it was only livery horse owners (as opposed to staff or the yard owner) who might be considered as ‘happy hackers’. Being professional can include ‘knowing how to turn a horse out’, that is being particularly smart when attending competitions. In some conversations professional approaches were described as being more effective in problem solving, where amateur approaches were often circular and did not come to a clear solution when trying to solve problems.

⁷ Affiliated riders are members of professional organisations such as British Dressage (BD), British Eventing (BE) or the British Show Jumping Association (BSJA). Riders have to register themselves and their horse; it is only through these bodies that riders can progress to national or international competitions.

⁸ ‘Happy Hacker’ is a common term in the equine world for people who keep their horses to ride out around the roads or bridle ways and are less interested in competition.

Synthetic Discursive Method

This setting provided a rich source of discursive data. Concerns about influence were frequently foregrounded and evident in multiple and different ways. The ethnographic style facilitated the selection of extracts of data for further analysis that were related to issues that most frequently recurred within the livery yard. This section will outline how the analysis was approached and specify some of the tools of analysis that were drawn upon.

Analytic tools

A range of analytic tools were applied to explore the data, reflecting the synthetic approach taken.

Firstly, CA techniques of analysis were strongly drawn upon. There is now a substantial literature on CA identifying multiple different aspects of talk in interaction, such as the use of adjacency pairs, the actions of different types of silences and use of three part lists. For more detailed reviews of these analytic devices see Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008); Liddicoat (2011); Schegloff (2007); Wooffitt (2005); Sidnell (2010). This approach aims to stay close to the text and to explore the ways in which participants orientate to the previous turns. Through this focus on the detail of what people say, and how they respond to others, CA seeks to overcome the issues of the analyst imposing their own meanings and interpretations on design. Techniques for pursuing rigour include the analysis of deviant cases, exploring what happens when patterns differ. CA/DP approaches also value group analysis and as such excerpts from the data were regularly

taken to CA research groups, to check for similarities and differences in how the data was analysed.

It is worth noting some of the central concepts from CA/DP that were important here.

Firstly, recipient design, as discussed in Chapter 3 (page 79), was particularly important in analysing social influence. In addition given the power relationships within the yard discussed above (page 106) and highlighted in organisational research (Chapter 3, page 82), consideration was given to how epistemic primacy was established in conversations. Heritage and Raymond (2005) explored how this can be seen in conversations, suggesting the order of who presents a first assessment, whether tag questions are used and whether the knowledge is in one or other person's personal domain, can be key in terms of whose knowledge is produced as having the greatest credence. Finally the more DP orientated concept of 'stake' (Edwards & Potter, 1992) was also used, where people might be particularly invested in some positions and work to 'innoculate' or protect these interests.

As discussed in Chapter 3, to understand social influence it is also important and relevant to consider the meanings that people give to influence. This was addressed both through the ways in which broader discourses are constructed (such as around equine welfare in government level considerations of livery yards) and common threads or discourses within the livery yard. To capture the language used in culture and context more broadly, the analysis invoked an awareness of Billig's rhetorical approach to discourse analysis, reflecting on the question of what people might be responding to when they make an

assertion. This also orientated the research toward being aware of possible ideological dilemmas (Billig, 1987/1996, 1991).

A psychological orientation also considered how people imposed their own 'personal order' (Wetherell, 2007) on discourses of influence, that is how people picked up meanings and orientated them to their own construction of self and influence within the livery yard. CDP emphasises people's discursive repertoires, or words and descriptions that individuals have available as resources to do this. These repertoires were referred to within the analysis and a great deal of emphasis was also placed on the available subject positions and how these were constructed (Davies & Harre, 1990; Harre, 2002; Harre & Gillett, 1994; Harre & Moghaddam, 2003). Harre and Moghaddam (2003) described how the intersection of social, cultural, and personal ways of talking creates these different positions. Most importantly for social influence is that as it is traditionally understood, it appears to construct positions for people as sources or targets of influence, making this a particularly useful tool for exploring influence related meanings.

Inevitably, these more 'critical' ideas include greater inference from the data than the more stringent CA approach (Larsson & Lundholm, 2010), which means that some of these ideas are more difficult to evidence. However, it is argued here that this approach also contributes to reflecting the general ambiguity of meanings and is also able to access the ways of talking about influence that are more familiar to people in terms of their everyday sense making.

Applying this synthetic approach required decisions around which analytic tools to begin with and which to use where. Previously McHoul and Rapley (2005) applied different forms of analysis to different textual types – CA/DP analysis for conversation data and rhetorical approaches to analyse textual data. However, a distinction between types of text is not essential. Indeed, Widdicombe's (2011) approach used CA tools of analysis for interview data. Here, the approach to using multiple tools of analysis followed that of Seymour-Smith and Wetherell (2006). This involved beginning with detailed analysis of shorter excerpts and then extending this to consider and reflect on how critical discursive psychology was also relevant.

Other problems relate to the overlap of concepts. For example in Chapter 6, the analysis focuses on how people 'impose a personal order' and place different personally relevant concerns at stake (such as competence). Related concepts such as Goffman's (1967, 1974; Lemert & Branaman, 1997) notions of footing and 'face' could have been used to explore these in more detail. However, it was decided that the most important thing for this thesis was to explore the excerpts in terms of a psychological perspective and so, the notions of stake and personal order were maintained. A similar problem emerged in Chapter 7, where there was a question of whether questions of influential identities or subject positions were being explored, or even whether these could also be considered in terms of footing and floor. Identities were finally selected as most appropriate, in order to reflect what was apparent in the data as closely as possible and to avoid terms being applied with too many assumptions that might be implicitly associated with them.

Despite these difficulties this research design and combination of analytic tools offered a degree of triangulation in terms of drawing on a range of data sources and analytic approaches. As Smith (2008) argued, this can be advantageous for qualitative research, increasing confidence in the findings. For example, a CA analysis that highlights the importance of changes of footing at particular instances, and a positioning revealed by a more critically inspired approach, substantiates the interpretation that a display of self is important at a particular moment.

Applying these multiple analytic tools was also valuable to challenge the concept of social influence and to really draw out the different ways in which social influence could be understood. Thus the benefits of this approach were to explore and explode the concept of social influence, rather than to provide narrow and refined accounts that could be applied to multiple settings. The aims were to develop a method that could open doors, an approach that might be applied to different contexts, though the findings from this context in terms of specific meanings were related directly to the context of this livery yard, at this point in time.

Analytic Procedure

The data was initially transcribed in note form and labelled during the period of data collection. In the first instance Transana software was used to organize the data. This allowed audio, video and typed notes to be held in a single database. These were uploaded regularly during the process of data collection. The main focus of the detailed analysis was on the audio and video data. This data was mostly in the form of long

episodes of 1-3 hours in length. Transana allows the researcher to develop 'collections' of segments of data that relate to particular themes. This feature was used to cross reference episodes from these larger pieces of data, between different time periods. It was used to develop collections of excerpts that seemed relevant to social influence. A wide range of collections were identified, some focusing on different topics discussed by participants (e.g. hunting and whether they were convinced by these arguments; or different trainers and why people preferred them). Others focused on different events that I thought involved influence, such as selling horses, deciding on appropriate treatments for ill horses, solving behavioural difficulties of horses. Collections were also generated around social practices inspired by CA analysis, such as advice giving; even of different discursive phenomena such as directives; and common styles of interaction within the livery yard, including story telling.

Although the development of collections sounds formal, the selection and grouping of episodes and themes was inevitably selective. In this way, it is possible to see myself as inherently a part of how data was selected. This approach of pulling out what seemed relevant to social influence for the researcher reflects the procedure that Hepburn and Potter (2011a) used to identify threats in their work (see Chapter 3 page 81).

Data analysis began during the second half of the data collection, but really it was not until I left the yard that I felt able to explore the data fully. The advantage of both being a part of the data collection and being able to leave between six months and two years

before analysing different parts of the data was useful in allowing me to see the data at different levels of emotional distance.

The initial analysis sought to examine whether social influence as a process as described in traditional approaches to social influence could be seen within participants' interactions. To explore this, a detailed case study was conducted of a short conversation, reported in Chapter 5. This incident had been repeatedly discussed in the yard and thus seemed of importance to participants. Importantly, it seemed to be the type of discussion where social influence might be expected. The excerpt was transcribed in detail following the Jeffersonian transcription style (See Appendix 4, page 252). I began with a micro analysis of this excerpt before expanding out to consider subject positions, interpretative repertoires and ideological dilemmas.

After exploring what could be learned about social influence from a single episode, it seemed appropriate to identify what common practices of influence existed within the livery yard (explored in Chapter 6). The selection of material and focus of the analysis was guided by my experience of the context, the largest 'collection' of excerpts that I had generated (use of stories in persuasion) and the indirect nature of social influence indicated in the case study analysis. This generated a focus for the analysis on indirect practices of influence where people orientated to known patterns or stories about each other. Analysis of these interactions drew initially on CA inspired techniques, observing social actions and the ways in which participants challenged each other for epistemic primacy.

Apparent through both of these analyses were references to personal identity and influence, thus the final analytic chapter focuses on influential identities. The starting point was the yard owner, to explore how she seemed to have a different influential identity from other yard members. The analysis began with collections of conversations where Zara was either present or talked about, analysis of Zara's individual interview and the ways that liveries talked about Zara in their interviews.

It is to these three analytic chapters, that the thesis now turns.

Chapter 5: Orientating to Social Influence

This chapter explores how people orientate to the existence and possibilities of social influence when discussing problems. That is, they behave as if there was a possibility of social influence, despite social influence not being acted out in the ways that traditional models of influence might prescribe.

The evidence to be presented focuses around a case study of a single conversation. This conversation was about what was wrong with one of the horses. The episode was selected as it appeared that the owner of the horse, at face value at least, was seeking advice and so might be being influenced. Taking a case study approach made it possible to draw out the fine details of the turn by turn unfolding of the conversation and to place them in the broader context of the livery yard to capture context at multiple levels following the method outlined in Chapter 4. The amount of detail that can be gained from studying a single conversation was considered to outweigh the benefits of examining a range of conversations. It provided an opportunity to interrogate multiple possible readings of social influence in detail and to produce understandings that could be further studied and tested for generalisation. Considerable discourse analytic work has been developed from single case studies to enable study of details often overlooked in larger samples (e.g Larsson & Lundholm, 2010; Wetherell, 2007).

The chapter will begin by outlining the focal conversation. A full transcript is provided in Appendix 5, page 254). It then illustrates how participants seemed to orientate to an expectation of social influence, including subject positions that could be associated with a

process of influence. It goes on to explore how participants also seemed to distance themselves from being positioned as engaging in social influence. The analysis draws on both the micro details of conversation and broader discursive themes of the context that were set out in Chapter 4. The chapter concludes with reflections on these findings for traditional approaches to social influence and the development of a discursive understanding of influence.

The conversation and the participants

The focal conversation is a discussion between four people, including myself as a researcher, around what to do with a ‘poorly’⁹ horse. This was selected as it is typical of the type of problem solving conversation that is often held in the yard. It took place in November 2009. I arrived on the yard on a rather wet day to be greeted by Josephine and Karen chatting together with concerned looks on their faces. I asked what was wrong and Karen explained that her horse, Dobin, seemed unwell and that they were discussing what to do and what might be wrong. Karen and Dobin are shown in Figure 3.

⁹ ‘Poorly’ is a colloquial way of describing horses as being unwell in this context

Figure 3: Dobin and his worried owner



Josephine and Karen had kept horses on the yard for over 10 years. They had an established friendship and shared the care of each other's horses (See Chapter 4, p.105). Josephine had cared for Dobin the evening before he had become ill. Karen had not been there for two days and arrived that morning to find that Dobin was not very well. Karen had only been on the yard for around 30 minutes before I arrived. The key conversational issue was whether Dobin had been bitten by an insect where concern would be minimal, or whether he was displaying symptoms of colic, which can be life threatening for a horse and therefore a much greater concern.

Pat joined the conversation a little later. She had been on the yard for 2 years as a rider of Zara's horses (not an owner) and had less experience than Josephine or Karen having returned to horses following a long break (See Chapter 4, p. 105). She voiced a great respect for Josephine and they regularly rode their horses out together. She later reported to me that the situation with Karen was very difficult as Karen had had a

previous horse whose colic had not been identified early enough and so the horse had died. Pat suggested that this made Karen more sensitive than others to anxiety about colic. At the time of the focal conversation Pat rode out with Karen on average once a week, but had a closer relationship to Josephine with whom she rode on a near daily basis.

As the fourth member of the group, I had been visiting twice a week for 3 months at this time. I had ridden one of Zara’s horses out with Karen on several occasions and we shared similar interests and approaches to our horses both having kept horses all of our lives. All participants were clearly aware of my role as a researcher and that their conversations were recorded and by this stage had become more used to the recording.

A summary of the conversation is provided in Table 2, to help to orientate the reader to the context of the research, a method that has been used in some older style CA approaches (e.g. Heritage and Sefi, 1992). The conversation lasted 5 minutes and 10 seconds. The full transcript can be found in Appendix 5, page 254.

Table 2: Summary of the focal conversation

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Outline of the problem Josephine and Karen were discussing how to care for Dobin when I arrived. I enquired what was wrong. Karen, who owns Dobin, voiced that they were ‘unsure’ what to do as Dobin had ‘shown some discomfort in his side’.• Exploring an insect bite as the cause Josephine volunteered that she “...had thought he had been bitten”• Hypothetical possibility of colic Karen introduced the possibility that the horse might have colic “but what if... then he could have colic”
--

- Discussing symptoms
I asked about Dobin's symptoms and Pat observed at several junctures that "he looks ok at the moment though".
- Decision making / formulating
After discussing what had happened Karen finally decides that "I think what I will do is give him some hay and then just see what happens". However, Josephine then asks "Where's Zara? Perhaps she has liquid paraffin [treatment for colic]". So the final decision is to treat the horse as if he has colic.
- Epilogue
The conversation ends with laughter and chit chat.

Expectation of influence

This conversation was selected as it seemed initially that Karen was seeking advice about how to care for her horse. However on analysis, it was not possible to identify a clear statement of opinion from any speaker, a clear message that causes them to change their opinion, or a clear statement of an alternative opinion, as will be illustrated in this section. Rather the conversation is littered with hedged opinions and subtly imposed alternatives. Even at the end of the conversation, an action plan is suggested but this is not tied in the talk to a change of opinion. Thus it is suggested, that a better way of understanding the relevance of influence here is to consider participants as orientating to different meanings of social influence and how it might play out and affect their personal positions within the conversation. It was as if participants 'expected' to be influenced. To illustrate this expectation, this section follows up the ways in which Josephine and then Karen orientated to this conversation.

Josephine's orientation to influence: 'I thought he had just been bitten'

Josephine is the first person to offer an opinion of what might have been wrong with Dobin. However, she does this in a hedged manner. In Extract 5.1, we see that in response to Karen's description of the problem, Josephine presents her opinion in an uncertain manner.

(5.1) Looking for initial opinions

7. C Wha what
8. K We are a bit unsu:re about him at the moment
9. °he sort of° displayed
10. em .hh some discomfort in his .hh side
11. C ↑mmm
12. K (um b) swishy tail
13. (.2)
14. K e[mm
- 15. J [I thought he'd been bitten cos he kept sort of
- 16. s:swinging round tohi↓ >I dnnow<
17. K ↑↑mnyea↓

In extract 5.1 Karen frames the problem as being a shared one. In line one she says 'we are a bit unsure', suggesting that there is concern from all parties. In line 8, Josephine then takes ownership of her own opinion, stating that 'I thought..'. The use of 'I thought' in this utterance to preface her assessment of the situation opens up the possibility that she might have been wrong, and potentially, suggests she might expect that her opinion could now be changed. This 'expectation' that she might be persuaded to change her mind is arguably apparent through Josephine's use of 'I thought' in contrast to Karen's framing of the problem using the word 'we'. However, it is notable that there is no direct challenge by any other party to Josephine stating that she could be wrong rather, Josephine appears to talk as if that has occurred, in expectation, as it were.

The phrase 'I just thought he had been bitten' is repeated through the transcript, which could arguably reflect an attempt at least of having her opinion heard by the group. This statement occurs 3 further times, illustrated in extracts 5.2-5.4.

(5.2) Recruiting consensus

18. J I just didn't think of colic because it didn't appear
19. like th:at. ↑You were there when (.) Dan was
20. sordof thrashing about [and he sorta
21. P [↑Yea] isss odd wanit
22. J mmm,
23. P like he'd been bitten like you said=
→ 24. J =I just thought he'd been bitten [(°nn°)
25. P [yeah

Extract 5.2 is a continuation of 5.1 where Josephine repeats the statement 'I just thought he'd been bitten' (line 24). This is presented here as an upshot of an account of why Josephine's conclusion was legitimate. Josephine offers the account in lines 18-19 and then recruits Pat into the conversation (19-20) suggesting that she and Pat may have a greater knowledge of the situation as they were present and Karen was not. Here then, we see an example of the use of consensus to support a position, in a similar way to the findings of Edwards and Potter (1992) when they examined political talk. However, in this case where the focus is on a conversation rather than an analysis of political text the edges of the potential disagreement itself are left blurred – there is no direct statement such as "how could I be wrong when Pat agrees". So we might infer that there is some potential disagreement here, but this is not made overt – at no point does Josephine directly assert an opinion that she disagrees with Karen that there is a problem and that the horse had simply been bitten. Rather Josephine responds rhetorically as if this were

the case and there is an expectation of influence. Recruiting support and then and restating her opinion appears to upgrade¹⁰ this rhetorical position.

This upgrading can also be considered strengthened as Josephine's utterance in line 24 is a partial repeat (Sidnell, 2010) of Pat's statement in line 23 that the horse had been bitten, emphasising that Josephine was the one who owned that statement. This could be considered as a repair of Pat's statement in line 23, perhaps treating this as if it might not have been heard by the rest of the group and re-emphasising the consensus.

Simultaneously, it repairs any assumption that she (Josephine) had been uncertain before Karen had arrived and therefore, should have behaved in a different way to support the best interests of the horse. Thus in the sense that Egbert (1997) and Wu (2006) observe, this repair is not simply produced for repair's sake, but also carries an action. It is spoken with a final intonation¹¹, emphasises alignment between Pat and herself and reinforces that this is her (Josephine's) opinion, potentially drawing on her position as an experienced horse lady. Thus, although Karen has not said that Josephine is wrong, Josephine builds a case for her opinion as if there was some doubt over it.

Karen then continues in line 26-31 (Extract 5.3) to describe a previous event where it did seem that the horse had been bitten.

¹⁰ An 'upgrade' in CA is a technical term to refer to a response that heightens the prominence of a particular idea.

¹¹ When analysing conversation in detail, the final intonation is a downward shift in tone, that signals the end of a turn or sequence of talk. Usually transcribed as a full stop.

(5.3) Confirming opinions

26. K .<See la:↓st week last Friday he came out of the stab:le,
27. tacked up I was just about to go:o and then he just (.) lld
28. did lo:ads of little bunny hops here (.) as he came out
29. reall discomfort and Zoe an:d (.) Di >I think it was<
30. cam:e straight down because it was not like [him
31. P [No,
32. K and then once he settled then I saw this little bug thing
33. it like leapt on to him, went in between his coat and then must
34. havfe .hhh bitten him, I managed to get it whatever it was_
35. P mmm ↑°I wonder what [that was°
36. K [identified it but there must be some
37. around at the moment that are .hhh aren't very nice
38. P No,
39. K And he is quite sensitive that [(way)well they are aren't
40. they em
41. J [That's right
→ 42. J As I say t to m:e, I always thought that he had been bitten.

In extract 5.3 Josephine takes Karen's recounting of the horse having been bitten recently as a further opportunity to repeat her position in line 42. This seems to produce her opinion as even more legitimate. The final presentation of this phrase comes in extract 5.4.

(5.4) Rhetorical response

89. C Can you hear↓ his his [(.)his movements?
90. J [Ah >°I hadn't thought about that°<
91. (.)
92. J He seemed to have >sort of< calmed down once I put the
93. Head collar on and I was rubbing where I thought
94. he'd been bitten you s[ee,
95. K [mm
96. J and I was smoothing all tha:t (.) and then he,
97. and then he was alright: ↓then

Finally, in extract 5.4 Josephine again offers her position that she thought the horse had been bitten, following a question related to ruling out the possibility that the horse had colic. The positioning of the phrase here arguably illustrates the rhetorical act of behaving as if influence was an issue and further, as if she were being positioned as the target of influence.

It is suggested that Josephine's repeated statement is not a resistance to influence as this would imply that some form of coercion necessarily existed. However in the analysis of the available discourse, although there are questions raised, there is no direct statement to Josephine that asks 'are you sure?', 'what about...', or even states 'you are wrong'. Rather, it seems to be the interactional trajectory itself that Josephine is responding to in building her case. Thus it is suggested that participants orientate to an expectation that practices of influence might occur or be used in some way within this context.

Despite this repeated assertion of her earlier 'thoughts', the final course of action is taken in line with a possible treatment of colic, framed as a kind of 'better safe than sorry' formulation. This final act, as it were, is captured in Extract 5.5.

(5.5) Concluding action

121. (.)

122.J Where's Zara

123.P Indoors

124.J I wonder if she's got liquid paraffin

125.K so you think

126.J [I mean that won't harm

127.K [just do do that first
 128.J [If he's playing up even if it's not colicky or anything
 129. that won't harm him will him you just got to get it out really
 130.K [yeah yeah no it gives him a yea
 131.C Epson salts or something like that just n case better to ()
 132.K Yeah yeah yeah
 133.J Oh em I mean I do' we don't know that would be compounding it
 134. won't it [he has something to eat]
 135.K [ye yea yea]yes
 136.J ()
 137.C but he has eaten
 138.J >He's eaten yea he's eaten< I mean I just put (.)
 139. quarter of a haynet
 140.C and he et it
 141.J whilst I was mucking him out
 142.K it's still bothering him cause he's just a bit touchy
 143.J yea
 144.K but it's not
 145. (.)
 146.C he's not sweated though or hot is he?
 147.K no
 148.J no
 149.P I mean he looks alright donne
 150.C hh ye.
 151.P He doesn't **look** like there's anything wrong.
 152. (.)
 153.J See if you can get liquid paraffin off Zoe if not you'll have
 154. to go nto [town] or or
 155.K (OK then Pat)

This rapid exchange, occurring mainly between Josephine and Karen, is done mostly in overlap in lines 126-130 and 134-135. Jefferson (1980) argues that although rapid exchange and overlap like this can appear to demonstrate a diversion in attention, at times it can represent an increased focus of attention between the participants, which appears to be the case here. Indeed, Jefferson has identified a range of potential actions that this fast talk may have including displaying recognition of the meanings of other

participants. In this sequence, the issue that this could be colic is quite concerning and thus an increased attendance would seem appropriate. We can see that Josephine very much takes charge and that Karen supports this, evidenced through her agreement tokens in lines 130, 132 and 135. Having suggested the liquid paraffin, in line 124, Josephine presents a justification at 126 and again in lines 128 - 129, so that her lead is not simply around getting people to do what she says, but to intimate that there are good reasons for doing this drawing on a 'better safe than sorry' formulation. Nevertheless, at no point is a clear change of opinion stated, i.e. Josephine does not say 'I think he has colic', rather it is a course of action that is suggested.

The implicit orientation to this conversation as likely to involve persuasion is given further meaning when we consider not just the immediate context of the conversation, but the broader social and economic orders of the yard. This is particularly interesting as Josephine's knowledge, experience and role as deputy in the yard are played out in a very particular way. At no point does she make a direct challenge to the situation as to what is wrong with the horse and it is not until the point in the conversation when the floor appears to be open for decision making does she venture her position. This, most interestingly, seems to be mainly in line with a kind of reflexive awareness demonstrated by the group of avoiding a practice that might be considered in line with bullying, or the negative ways in which livery yards have been characterised (as identified in Chapter 1, page 19). This also fits with the keenness of yard members to differentiate this yard as socially supportive in contrast to the 'cliquey' and 'bitchy' nature of other yards (as discussed in Chapter 4, page 108). This is particularly interesting. It suggests that people are not simply "influenced" but they are highly aware of the social situations that they

inhabit and might be performing actions other than doing “being influenced” where they produce agreement. These actions might relate to rhetorical responses to other discourses available in a particular context, such as in this case that of making a friendly yard environment. Thus, people are actively negotiating these complex environments as opposed to passively reacting to them.

Karen’s orientation to social influence

Where Josephine orientates very delicately to the possibility that she might be influenced, Karen orientates very sensitively to the position of influencing the group. One way that this can be illustrated is through the very delicate hypothetical construction that Karen uses to initiate a discussion of colic, the least preferred answer to Dobin’s illness. Karen sets up a troubles telling sequence and this hypothetical scenario appears within this talk (Extract 5.6 below, lines 44-45). It appears that this scenario is set up to add even more distance between her and a commitment to a particular opinion perhaps as this would have more sinister connotations for the horse.

(5.6) Hypothetical colic

42. J As I say t to m:e, I always thought that he had been bitten.
43. K Yea (.) yea because if he hadn't displayed the symptoms
44. before but then he'd just eaten, which if he can't pass at
45. the moment then that's gonn:a discomfort him more isn't it
46. [but he needs t]
47. J [yea]He hasn't passed any motions this morning
48. so that's=
49. C =Nothing, over night
50. J Well overnight he has but normally he does
51. (.)

The use of hypothetical scenarios has been explored in the sense of HIV counselling (see Perakyla & Vehvilainen, 2003) as a way of presenting information of potentially dangerous or sensitive content. Speer and Parsons (2007) further suggested the function of hypothetical scenarios is hugely dependent on context. Their research suggested hypothetical scenarios were one method that psychiatrists used to authoritatively manage sensitive choices around treatments. Here, Karen works particularly hard to open colic as a topic for discussion, her formulation of this as a hypothetical scenario makes the possibility of colic a more dangerous or sensitive alternative. Furthermore, this arguably provides Karen with a “professional voice” for giving bad news or attempting to deal with issues that are less preferred by the audience, as in the authoritative case of the psychiatrists. This voice delicately yet assertively introduces the “dangerous” notion of colic without directly challenging Josephine’s extensive experience of horses including horses with colic, Josephine’s social standing in the yard or their friendship, yet following up on the approach to making the discourse more “professional” than “amateur” (Chapter 4, page 110). Furthermore it raises a discussion topic that Pat later admits to avoiding, as Karen has previously had a horse die from colic and there is a desire not to make her anxious. Introducing this as a hypothetical scenario also serves to take away any commitment to this opinion as a solution. This analysis of hypothetical scenarios helps to illustrate the truly complex nature of this conversation and begins to allude to how this is also entrenched in broader meanings.

Distancing from influence

An oblique expectation that influence might occur in this situation is accompanied by a distancing of influence and related concepts. I have used the term distancing here, as this is not the same as resisting influence. A resistance of influence would indicate that an

attempt to influence was necessarily happening – that there was a pressure on the individual to behave in a particular way. This pressure was not assumed here. Rather, it has been suggested that participants orientate to an expectation that they might be persuaded to change their minds – whether or not this relates to any actual intention of the other person. Distancing involves moving away in talk from occasions where this meaning could be imposed.

Distancing by Josephine

The first theme to consider when exploring distancing is that of the complex and intrinsic power relations within the yard (Chapter 4, page 106). Here, I integrate the use of Heritage and Raymond's conceptualisation of epistemics (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), that is claims to having power over others that can be read from a micro analysis of the conversation, with the ethnographic observations from Chapter 4 to understand some of the meanings that might also facilitate an understanding of social influence. Beginning with a reflection on epistemics we re-examine extract 5.1, re-produced as 5.7 below.

(5.7) Power relations

7. C Wha what
8. K We are a bit unsu:re about him at the moment
9. °he sort of° displayed
10. em .hh some discomfort in his .hh side
11. C ↑mmm
12. K (um b) swishy tail
13. (.2)
14. K e[mm
15. J [I thought he'd been bitten cos he kept sort of
16. s:swinging round tohi↓ >I dnnow<
17. K ↑↑mnyea↓

In answer to my unfinished query as to what was going on, Karen made an initial assessment, delicately constructed in lines 2-3, using the term “we”, which positioned Josephine as in agreement with her that they were unsure of what was wrong with Dobin. This declarative format arguably makes a claim to epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) that is, Karen having the greatest authority to provide a knowledgeable opinion or answer to my request for information. Indeed, when we consider the broader context, Karen was the owner of the horse and arguably therefore had some power to decide what was wrong with him. Furthermore, as a horse owner and effectively a customer of the yard it is important that Josephine as a representative of the yard did not upset her – this was after all supposed to be a friendly environment. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 4 this notion of not upsetting the liveries was of utmost concern for the yard owner.

Yet in line 7, Josephine provided a second assessment that potentially challenges this epistemic primacy. She initiated in overlap with “I thought” which appears to expand on Karen’s statement but reclaims her own epistemic rights to her own thinking, using the pronoun “I”. She then presented an apparent solution and an explanation, followed with a tag “I dnnow” (line 8). The tag is presented very quickly and at the same time she looked away, more as a throw away than as a further inquiry that there may be a problem. It has been suggested that there are a range of ‘I dunno’¹² formulations including those that present space or distance from a sensitive issue (see Edwards, 1995; Potter, 2004; Wooffitt, 2005). This is not a question tag, which Heritage suggested

¹² ‘I dunno’ is the original phrasing used by these authors.

indicates a strong upgrading of epistemic primacy, but nevertheless is done in a very quick and dismissive manner, accompanied by looking away. In this way she presents a less preferred second assessment that subtly questions whether there is an uncertainty. Her use of "I thought" might be further legitimised by her position held in the yard, and her doing of her talk in this manner might continue to position her as having some level of greater authority to having an opinion. Nevertheless, there is no direct challenge here, and the throwaway "I dnnow", does appear to provide enough distance for her to hold a possibly different position and for this difference not to become problematic within the conversation. Furthermore, her use of the past tense "I thought" rather than "I think", allows a degree of ambiguity around what she now thinks. So again rather than make a clear statement of opinion the utterance is cautiously crafted, her rights to provide an opinion being "allowed" by her broader standing in the yard, yet she simultaneously avoids being too direct, that could go against the "good" nature of the yard, could challenge her friendship with Karen and further could problematise her position as supporting horse owners as a member of staff. Thus we can argue that there is not just an expectation here from Josephine that social influence might occur, but also a distancing of a sensitive issue.

This distancing was further backed up by the subsequent discussions with these people about what happened in this interaction. Thus Pat commented that the issue of colic was a particularly sensitive one for Karen and suggested that she is always anxious about colic, as a previous horse that she owned died from colic.

Distancing of influence by Karen

This awareness of the possibility of influence/ distancing dilemma was also evident in Karen's discourse. Karen manages this in a different way, frequently engaging in troubles telling talk (Jefferson & Lee, 1981). This is where the troubles teller does not take up any form of solution but rather engages in telling their problems. During this type of talk, trouble can occur if the recipient attempts to offer advice. Advice is not generally taken up or even receipted as advice until the troubles teller seeks the advice. This is illustrated in Extract 5.8 below.

(5.8) Troubles telling

73. J =Yea the trouble if something in him really
74. (.)
75. J (°he's not colicky is he?°)
76. K And you don't know the beginning of it do [you really sort
77. of em (.) [he's not sort of stamping but em
78. J [no
79. C [he wan't kicking
80. C yea he wasn't yea stamping [and kicking
81. K [no you know like when [Dodge
82. had it she it was up to her
83. C [mmm
84. K [tummy and and her hind legs [kicking her stomach
85. [hh ut as well but I suppose it depends where the .hh block is
86. C [mmm
87. J [(°she was doing all sorts of
88. things°) yea Yeah] Yeah

In line 73, we see that Josephine shows some hesitation in her opinion. Karen takes this up in line 76, and relates a tale of her previous experience of colic. Karen treats Josephine and I as troubles telling recipients, not leaving a gap for us to take a turn and continuing

to describe the behaviour of her previous horse, 'Dodge'. This continuation of conversation, with minimal space for other initiated turns was also seen in Extract 5.3, with Karen's description of an event where Dobin had been bitten earlier that week. These elongated turns were a common feature of Karen's talk. By treating the others as troubles telling recipients and continuing her story with minimal space for other initiated turns, this transfers the episode into a narrative of what has happened in the past, rather than specifically about seeking a new solution for the present. This approach enables Karen to position herself as not seeking advice, but rather discussing a problem. Indeed even when moving out of troubles telling talk, there is a distancing of subject positions related to social influence, displayed in particular through how a personal opinion is identified and owned. This is illustrated in Extract 5.9.

(5.9) Moving out of troubles telling talk safely

98. K but perhaps now it might b you know if we just keep an eye on
 99. it a it but now it might be like memory if he had been bitten
 100. he might just sort of be
 101. still like annoyed with [it you know
 102.C [()
 103.J [well it can itch
 104.C aha
 105.P once you've been bitten °it can itch°
 106.C mmm
 107.K Well he's not as violent now=was it only one time
 108. you saw him doing it
 109.J No a couple of times
 110.P Just a couple of times, he did it and I thought he just kicked
 111. the box
 112.K mm
 113.P but then you said oh I think he's been bitten
 114. and he just did it again didn't he=
 115.J =Yeah
 116.K I think what I am going to do:o, is I'll give him some more to
 117. munch perhaps then

118.J yea
119.K an just see (.) what happens then, or do you think
120. that's not right
121.(.)

The participants begin to move out of troubles telling talk through a stepwise transition (Jefferson, 1985) into a formulation and more direct advice seeking. In extract 5.9, Karen initiates the change from troubles telling by offering a formulation. "...Formulations are a means through which participants may make explicit their sense of "what we are talking about" or "what has just been said": they are a means of constructing an explicit sense of the gist of the talk thus far." (Drew, 2003, p.296). Karen appears to initiate an action of formulating in lines 98-101. She suggests a course of action and a possible interpretation of her sense of where the conversation is at, that it is most likely that the horse has been bitten. This appears as an upshot of the conversation. Fitting with this Karen suggests that the best thing to do in line with this is to observe the horse. This formulation of what might be going on omits the additional idea of colic that has been discussed within the conversation and as Heritage and Watson (1979) suggested, one possible function of formulations is deletion. Yet this approach is clearly hedged in many ways and focuses largely on a formulation of what to do without specifically tying down what has been said. Her initiation of a floor where formulation can occur is supported with agreement from each of the other participants, as seen in lines 102-106 and indeed as Antaki (2008) suggested, these types of upshots produce a strong preference for agreement. It exemplifies Karen's responsibility as Dobin's owner, to project a course of action and this delicate checking out equally seems to respect the ideas of the other members of the group, producing the group as having developed the ideas together so that no one person was necessarily influential.

Having been accepted by others and not as yet experienced any disagreement with her line of thinking, Karen then goes on to produce an assessment of the current state of the horse in Extract 5.9, line 107 and then recruits other group members again to support this. The significance of Josephine's correction that it was "a couple of times" (line 108) is downgraded by Pat's partial repeat in line 110 repairing "No a couple of times" to "Just" a couple of times, and then offering a further minimisation of the behaviour ("I just thought he had kicked the box", line 110-111). This kind of mini round up of the conversation and what happened is then followed up with a further formulation of what to do given this position that the horse is no longer violent and it is likely to be a bite (line 113-121). By checking out all of the options it is possible to include the "upshot" of the general conversation in producing an overall formulation.

This upshot formulation has been built up cautiously in a clear attempt to integrate what has been said by the group members. This does a number of things. Firstly it presents the formulation as collaboratively constructed by checking out first with the group what the story was and secondly, this formulation is hedged with "I think", "perhaps", "just see" so that it echoes the ambiguous nature of the conversation, maintaining the distancing of opinions and influence and allowing the positions held to be vague and uncertain. Indeed she even ends the summation with 'or do you think that's not right' in lines 119-120. The use of the group then, seems to enable Karen to distance herself from the position of influencing others.

Distancing of influence by the group

Finally, the tension that seems to be generated from implied meanings of social influence is also distanced by the group at times, for example, through laughter. In extract 5.4 (page 127) we saw how the discussions of colic were beginning to take a more serious turn and again, Josephine responds rhetorically to this with her statement that she had thought he had just been bitten. The tension around a conflict of interests / potential for this less serious interpretation to be overlooked is then relieved by the group through laughter, illustrated in Extract 5.10, lines 52-55.

(5.10) Group use of laughter

47. K He hasn't passed any motions this morning
48. so that's=
49. C =Nothing, [over night
50. J [()Well overnight he has but normally he does
51. (.)
52. K (fHe's frequently muchf)
53. K [a ha ha ha↑
54. P [mu hu
55. C [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
56. J [Oh no he d ()

In line 52, Karen's smiley voice is treated as an invitation to laughter (Glenn, 2003) by me (as Karen and I are the main speakers at this point following my work as a troubles recipient). This results in simultaneous laughter between Karen and I, which I then extend. At this point the interaction has become between Karen and I following my receipt of her troubles telling. I offer an extended laughter period, inviting laughter from the other two participants. In order to join this laughter, Josephine adds comment at the end supporting Karen's laughter around the amount that Dobin defecates as a side sequence (Glenn, 2003), which seems to enable her to reengage with the interaction.

This appears to re-establish the shared knowledge and experiences of friendship that Karen and Josephine have in both caring for this horse, as well as simultaneously relieving some of the tension in the immediate conversation arising around the state of Dobin's health. At this point then, it appears that some sense of solidarity is essential for the progression of the conversation. This allowed a distancing of any potential tension or argument around what might be wrong with the horse and relieved any expectations of subject positions of influence (either as a target or source). This also seems important for managing relationships between people and providing a 'way out' from the difficulties of the discussion. Therefore, distancing from expectations of influence can not only be produced through how individuals talk and relate, but also through how the group operates together.

Discussion and Conclusions

This analysis set up a new way of conceptualising social influence as not necessarily a set of rules that are actually followed, but ones which could be relevant to the current interaction and that are treated by conversants in sensitive and delicate ways. People construct expectations of being positioned in different ways that relate to ideas of social influence. For example, Josephine responded here as if being persuaded and Karen as if she was persuading Josephine but, to pinpoint exactly why these positions were taken up was problematic. Further they were both defended against in talk, as if this practice of influence was somewhat uncomfortable. We saw this through the use of practices that have been used in other contexts to set up and manage obviously delicate issues (e.g. the diagnosis of HIV). Here we were able to use this knowledge to suggest that this is what

makes orientating to social influence a delicate issue. Exploring the meanings that are discussed in the yard and set up through social and economic relationships further indicates why these positionings can be considered as uncomfortable.

This ambiguity around the identification of who is actually being influenced through what and by whom, is what challenges a more traditional process model of social influence. It suggests that rather than an actual linear process being identifiable between two (or more) interactants, the construction of influence in this way is something that participants orientate to as existing or as a form of resource for sense making but, what they actually do and express in talk is different. Social influence could be considered as a possible way of interacting that was “out there” and that people drew on at some level within their interactions. They negotiate different subject positions and parts of this process as a part of shared understanding and in so doing, implicitly demonstrate a sensitive awareness of some of the meanings for people.

The term ‘expectancy of influence’ needs to be distinguished here from the way that it is used in language expectancy theory (Chapter 2, p.53; Chapter 3, p.63). The analysis here is not so much about people expecting to be influenced in particular ways but takes this further, by suggesting that people are considerably more flexible in terms of how they orientate to and negotiate social influence in conversations. Expectations of influence can be seen in how people actually talk and orientate to each other and it seems that this is the place in which they are negotiated and made relevant to immediate interactions, based on the discursive resources available.

This chapter has suggested that social influence can be understood as a social object (or process), that is orientated to as people interact and discuss their concerns. Chapter 6 moves on to consider whether it is also possible to identify any practices within interactions that might be considered as social influence or whether in taking a discursive approach, the finding is that influence is something that is referred to, but does not in everyday life follow a particular form.

Chapter 6: Influence practices in livery yards

Having explored in Chapter 5 how people appear to orientate their talk towards the existence of social influence practices, the current chapter will examine social influence as an enacted practice. Chapter 3 highlighted the multiple levels of reality that can be understood within interactions. From this perspective the practice of social influence in everyday life might be quite divergent from the traditional way that social influence is understood as a process. Given this position, the current chapter explores more widely some of the practices of social influence as they play out in the everyday context of the livery yard.

The first step of the current study was to identify what could be considered as social practices of influence. Despite the claim in Chapter 1 (page 19) that the common concern in livery yards is that other people are always telling each other what to do, these events were difficult to identify within participants' everyday talk in this particular yard although people talked about them in interviews. For example:

'I find it difficult as they are all older than me and telling me what to do and don't realise that I have even judged mountain and moorland in the past' (Eliza, Jan 10th 2010)

'There is always someone there to tell you what to do when you need it' (Melissa, Feb 19th 2010)

Instead, people often discussed ‘problems’ related to their horses, which included people acting as influence sources through offering candidate solutions¹³. Thus this study began by identifying problem focused talk. Analysis followed the synthetic discursive approach outlined in Chapter 4, beginning with the detailed analysis of these excerpts. A common practice within these discussions that seemed to provide opportunities for indirect influence was what I will term the ‘puzzle sequence’, which is the focus of this chapter. This practice provided opportunities for people to introduce their own or other people’s problems and to offer or invite influence as to what the best course of action might be. Problems were presented as puzzles that needed to be solved. From an examination of all of the data, 30 of the most representative and interesting puzzles were selected to explore in greater detail and examples are drawn from 9 of these in this chapter. Given the longitudinal design of the data collection, it was possible to examine these puzzles not just for their own sake as one off events but also to accommodate the temporal context and to explore how puzzles focusing on the same topics were re-done and seemed to evolve over time.

The current chapter will begin by illustrating the ‘puzzle sequence’ and how it can provide an opportunity for influence. The chapter then explores the advantages of the puzzle sequence in producing influence, followed by the risks for participants’ investments of self and examples of how the puzzle sequence can be used to resist influence. Finally, it considers how these effects are amplified as problems are rehearsed, creating yard

¹³ ‘Candidate solutions’ is a technical term from CA, where a speaker includes a solution to a particular problem within their turn.

puzzles. Links with traditional approaches to influence and implications for this thesis are considered within the conclusion.

The Puzzle sequence

The puzzle sequence is a collection of particular turn types between speakers that allow problems to be explored and treated as solvable. Puzzle sequences were generally quite short, lasting between 1 and 6 minutes. These sequences were triggered in multiple ways, including topic changes and non-verbal prompts such as the arrival of a person on the yard. “Zip’s Puzzle”, a conversation between myself and Pat, who rides for Zara, will be used to illustrate how these sequences seemed to work and raise issues of influence. Due to space limitations, this chapter places less focus on the triggers of the puzzle sequence than on the slots the sequence presents for speakers, however triggers are important for setting the context for puzzles particularly as we will see later, when puzzles are used to resist other forms of influence. The focal extract (6.1) is a discussion about an elderly horse with a history of lameness that I have just exercised. The trigger was a shared account of the route that I took (lines 1-9).

(6.1.1) ‘You Gotta watch his feet’ (October 2009)

1. C: So where did you go?
2. P: We went round the big loop the CVC loop, .hh
3. C: OK,
4. P: you donnow where you went
5. C: Well I wr just the just the normal bit that we've done
6. Before where we g::o
7. P: >Through the woods<
8. C: Yea↓ through the woods and along and back over that
9. bit that the theyve made (that way you know)
10. P: °gotta watch his feet°
11. C: (well we're just walking now ha ha)
12. P: ye:a you gotta do watch his feet hanyou

Central to these sequences is the use of assessments to make available a 'slot' in the conversation to introduce a problem. Thus in line 10, Pat makes a first assessment "gotta watch his feet". These assessments are then re-done, as shown here in line 12. In these sequences these repeated assessments (often noticings) seems to set up a 'problem slot' where the next party frequently states what the trouble is as illustrated in 6.1.2, which follows directly from 6.1.1.

(6.1.2)

13. C: Yea I mean she says it he's really just not hunting fit as it
14. were [but em
15. P: [No.

In this puzzle, the repeated assessment is of a problem that 'belongs' to me as it were. As Stivers and Rossano (2010) suggested, where a topic is introduced that is clearly in the epistemic domain of another (something someone else knows about) this can mobilise a response (see Chapter 3, p.14). Hence in line 13, I continue by acknowledging there might be a "problem" and we can suggest that a problem has been made for me by the other speaker Pat. This 'problem' slot is frequently prefaced by a statement such as 'the trouble is'. Other examples include:

'the trouble is if I if I push it and I make it worse then I shall blame myself'

'The trouble is I don't know whether I'm balancing between stiffness >which I think he iss< '

This is then followed with elaboration of problem related issues, occasioning conversational slots for candidate solutions.

(6.1.4)

16. C: he does trip sometimes actually on those stony bits
17. P: =Oh yea you cant
18. C: em (.) (°you know°) you have to be a bit .hh hh. Aware
19. (especially when he wants to I think he does very well)
20. actually
21. ha ha ha ha
22. P: Oh he does he does ()

Thus, 6.1.4 illustrates this discussion of candidate solutions. In Zip's puzzle the interaction continues with a recognition that 'he does trip' with the addition of 'sometimes' that seems to downgrade the problem, which is further minimized by the suggestion that this happens on 'stony bits' (line 16). In line 17, Pat begins a turn that seems to support this problem, but this is unfinished as I somewhat awkwardly suggest a candidate solution that 'you have to be a bit aware'. The awkwardness of this is seen in the interrupted progressivity of the conversation marked by em's, pauses and quieter voices in line 18, and laughter in line 21.

The sequence ends with a final position which may or may not be a solution to the problem. These final positions are quite often ambiguous thereby allowing speakers to politely accept all the possibilities suggested in the talk. This ambiguity is illustrated in lines 23-26.

(6.1.5)

23. C: well this is it and you you (struggle with
24. all these things) quite lucky really you just never know do
25. you °whether he's°_
26. P: mmm

27. ((speakers continue adjusting the horse's rug))

Thus within a puzzle sequence, another person who is not directly involved with a problem (Pat in the main example here), can initiate the puzzle sequence in a way that prompts the problem-owner to identify and “face” the problem as it were. This then raises the possibility for either speaker to raise candidate solutions to the problem. This ‘other initiated’ puzzle was one of 3 types of puzzle sequences identified here. Other initiated puzzles frequently included more difficulties with the progressivity of the interaction (such as hesitations or laughter), suggesting these might be less preferred. At other times a person introduces their own problems (self-initiated puzzles) discussed below in relation to resisting influence. Finally, some puzzles were jointly constructed, appearing to strengthen the validity of the problem and candidate solutions. Nevertheless as illustrated in the Zip puzzle, puzzles always incorporated a considerable amount of ambiguity.

Puzzles can also be distinguished as relating to particular horses for example, Zip had a long standing history of lameness and the puzzle around his lameness was frequently repeated. Indeed, this repetition of puzzles can also lead to their evolution as they are reconstructed over time. These puzzles were termed ‘yard puzzles’ and are the focus of the final section here. Other differences in puzzle formats related to those puzzles that related to past events and those that focused on future events. In future puzzles, assessments included: ‘he’s gonna go in’ before loading a horse, or ‘we’re going to have another one soon’ referring to a puzzle where a new horse was arriving.

The preference for the puzzle sequence is evidenced not just through its frequent appearance but also when deviant cases are examined. For example, in extract (6.2.1) the yard owner (Zara) does not seem to recognise the 'problem' which causes an elongated sequence. Here, two people are discussing whether or not it would be safe for them to ride their horses out together. In lines 1 and 2 Sally suggests the horses may upset each other, re-done by Jen in lines 3 and 4.

(6.2.1)

1. S: (Don't want to upset your him horse)
2. rather than the other way round
3. J: yes. thats what I mean I don't want to upset Larry or
4. Sally if he stops or something
5. S: I can't be out (for) too long (cause I'm doing things you know)

Zara the yard owner joins the puzzle late, asking what their plan is and then on her second turn states (line 9) "now or never".

6. Z: so what are you planning on doing, up past Annes around
7. the woods and back down then then::
8. J: °I'm not going in the woods°
9. Z: OK then I now or never, well

This direct approach is not accepted as a final position. It is as if Zara has not acknowledged the problem, as she did not join in at an earlier point in the puzzle sequence, where the event assessments were produced in lines 1 -4. So Karen re-does the problem in line 10 and Jay moves to expand on this. Zara's utterance relating to the wind in line 14 even though it minimizes the problem, is then treated as an acknowledgement of the problem and the sequence continues, though still with more questioning than might otherwise occur.

10. S: We were wondering about the combination cause () the
 11. combination in the woods as it were
 12. J: He was very good with Brody out walking yesterday but=
 13. Z: =yes well thats just
 14. just a little bit of wind n
 15. Well I think hell be fine now,
 16. I think hes fine, yea hes better today (stretch to much
 17. today)

(Line 18-20 omitted insert sequence)

21. S: So you think it'll be alright
 22. Z: Yes, Yes

The subtle form of influence made possible in these puzzle sequences coexisted with further social actions that might be considered as important in understanding when it is or is not acceptable for a person to take up a position of being influenced within an interaction. In this light, the next three sections explore some key social actions that coincide in the puzzle format with influence.

Benefits of the puzzle format in creating influence: De-personalising problems

The use of repeated assessments of events in the puzzle sequence rather than direct tellings (such as 'you should') not only sets up a problem slot but also provides an opportunity to present problems as real and depersonalised. For example, in the following extract Sandra makes two assessments of her horse's level of lameness.

(6.3.1) Sandra and Bronty

4. S: I don't know I think (.) he wasn't as uneven as he was
 5. in the week,
 6. E: aha

This statement can be considered as an assessment (line 4/5) of how the horse had seemed to have improved. The assessment is re-done in line 7:

(6.3.2)

7. S: Just a slight slight slight So I don't know.

8. I don't know whether to give it another couple of days

These assessments produce Bronty's lameness as a real possibility that is objectively observable, in the sense that Potter (1996) proposes makes discursive events real and not imagined. This is partly done with the avoidance of personal pronouns, so the assessment can be considered as a 'noticing' rather than 'motivated scrutiny' (Smith, 1978, as cited in Wooffitt, 2005). Indeed, most of these assessments were noticings. For example:

'not he not hardly recognisable but there's just that slight stiffness still'

'he's not as he was he he we think the way he pulled up, the way he pulled up it was like he was hopping along'

'C He was good today then'

S Oh Yea he was brilliant'

Nevertheless, despite some orientation to the production of an observable reality, the puzzles invoke a considerable amount of ambiguity. Indeed, the focus in the current analysis is less on these sequences as persuasive constructions of reality themselves than on how they set up interactional contexts that facilitated influence and exploring the frequent ambiguity that is simultaneously invoked. A similar approach is found in research on accounts. For example, Houtkoop-Steenstra (1990) analyses such assessments as accounts which are able to set up the delicate issue of offering a solution. In her analysis however, the focus is on how a person accounts for their own proposals,

for example an account of not having much money at the moment is used in preparation for a request for money. In this context the delicate set up is done by one person, for the other person to introduce a problem.

The importance of this depersonalising effect appears to highlight how even taking up a very subtle position of being influenced or influencing another might have implications for how selves are done in conversation, particularly as people seem to work so hard to remove the self. The care over this seems to make particular sense for example, when influence is directed at a more powerful person. Extract (6.4) comes at a music clinic¹⁴ where Zara has taken her horse. Personal conversations and Zara's body language at the event highlighted that she was nervous about taking the horse into the clinic. Further, Zara uses a quieter less assertive tone in this extract (See Chapter 7 for further analysis of the generally different roles that Zara plays). Tessa, Mel, Zara, and myself have been preparing Zara and the horse to go into the clinic. In this setting, away from the home setting of the yard, talk has mostly been focused on practical tasks that need doing in the immediate moment to prepare the horse. Puzzle talk is minimal. There is a pause as we wait to go in. Zara is on the horse and we are all looking toward the entrance. Tess then comes in and the sequence unfolds as in extract 6.4.1.

(6.4.1) Reassuring Zara

1. T But he's gonna show off any way£ ha ha
2. M Yea he's gonna spookalot once the music comes on °inne°
3. Z °Ye:eahh:°
4. (.)

¹⁴ A clinic in the equestrian world is a day where a trainer (in this case in dressage to music) runs a day of lessons, where people often come and watch as well as ride.

5. T once he gets used to it he'll be fine
6. C the thing is he's really come on over the last couple of weeks I
7. just its
8. Z Yea

This is an example of a future focused puzzle, framing an expectation of how the horse will perform. These assessments remain based on the situation (how horses are likely to behave in these situations) rather than Zara's personal competence to ride the horse, in this way depersonalizing the situation. Here, the problem is left unstated, and is acknowledged by Zara with a lower and longer 'yea' (line 3).

The sequence continues with expansion as usual. Tess and I provide reassurance that the horse will be OK (lines 5-7). Again, this remains depersonalized, no suggestion being made that Zara has herself has got things either right or wrong.

Arguably offering supportive influence to Zara who is generally a very powerful figure in the yard, is a particularly sensitive issue. The depersonalisation of problems, so that they are less associated with individuals in the ways that they are constructed and attributed to situations makes it possible to suggest problems and solutions without removing anything from Zara's status of power. Thus a sense of motivated scrutiny is avoided, so that those in the position of influencing construct themselves as less critical. Thus a key advantage of the puzzle sequence seems to be that it enables the presentation of a problem without appearing overly critical. Nevertheless, the hesitation invoked (e.g. line 4) might suggest that a great deal of delicacy is required (see Silverman's 2003 analysis of

delicate objects). The reasons why this delicacy might be required are explored in the next section.

Risks of becoming influenced in the puzzle format

The puzzle sequence raises the possibility of people being positioned in conversations as either being influenced or being the influencer. However puzzle sequences, particularly other related puzzles are often hesitant and seem to set up this subtle influence in a delicate way. This notion of delicacy is potentially related to how the person is constructed in the conversation. This was related to participants attempting to 'save face', and also, in line with the work of Heritage and Sefi (1992) on advice giving situations (Chapter 3, page 79), people's display of competence, which seems to be 'placed at stake' (Edwards & Potter, 1992b).

Firstly, it is important to illustrate how the puzzle format can be used in almost monologue form to produce the speaker as influential and competent. This is evidenced in extract 6.5 part of an elongated sequence. Here, Zara responds to a question about whether she will affiliate her horse (that is, register him for higher level competition), using a puzzle sequence to account for her decision.

(6.5.1) Zara demonstrating competence

1. CS: will you
2. Z: will I affiliate him and do .hh
3. I I have affiliated him only because theres a problem
4. have I told you this
5. CS: °no°
6. Z: Because he's imported the after four they
7. automatically get points whether they've won them or not
8. CS: Well thats silly why is that
9. Z: It happens em I had this problem with Charlie last year

10. two years ago two years ago? no I think it was last year
 11. (em the holstein) yes holstein em we affiliated him,
 12. and he automatically because he was 8 years old when he came
 13. into this country came with em something like
 14. 125 pounds worth of winnings ()
 15. CS: Thats ridiculous
 16. Z: But he was actually you know he was actually winning classes
 17. when we took him to Serford¹⁵ quicker than I could have him
 18. I was getting fines through the post cause if you win too much
 19. in his class you get fined
 20. CS: right right
 21. Z: So I said how do I solve this they said well you've got to
 22. write to the dutch, german and french show jumping association
 23. an:d see that he hasn't won anything over there and then
 24. they'll get back to us and say he hasn't and then we can get
 25. the points off, meanwhile he was still winning meanwhile
 26. I was still getting the fines ()
 27. CS: oh no

The assessments are done in lines 2 and 3. In responding to a question, Zara says that she will affiliate her horse in line 2, and redoes this in line 3, where she immediately continues to produce the problem. The lengthy continuation includes an expansion of Zara's previous experience with affiliating horses, demonstrating her knowledge and competence in this area. Her case and her own knowledge and competence is strengthened by invoking the rules of institutions (the points system in lines 6 and 7) and placing these within her own experience. By filling the slots available to provide solutions and outline the problem herself, Zara demonstrates her competence in the practice of her talk, as well as through her experience and telling of knowledge and an influential position for herself as able to advise others on how to affiliate horses. Arguably, this sequence was initiated by my inquiry as to whether or not Zara would affiliate her horse.

¹⁵ 'Serford' is a prestigious competition venue in this area. The name has been changed for ethical reasons.

This of itself could be considered as potentially critical as there is a rhetorical question as to why Zara has not already done this. The interesting connection for this analysis is that in constructing an account that counters this critique, the puzzle format is self initiated and followed through in Zara's talk, demonstrating her competence in being aware of the problem, identifying it and solving it.

The issue of competence becoming at stake for participants is most clearly seen in other initiated puzzles. Extract 6.6 comes from a conversation about Jen's new horse, which has been lame since she arrived. Jen knew the horse was lame when she acquired him (having bought him for a penny) and has been criticised for taking the horse on. The horse has now behaved somewhat wildly in the school and this discussion focuses on that. The issue is triggered by Caroline's enquiry in lines 1-3.

(6.6.1): The Bronty puzzle

1. C: but she did you speak to her about
2. J: yes
3. C: I can't remember what it was now
4. J: Oh the school thing yea she says, †hes got no actual
5. (issue) hes done a lot of school work, °she says° but
6. no he I just think hes just happy!
7. C: yea
8. J: I don't know if I'm hap happy about thatf
9. C: () a.hhh
10. J: If that had been a problem I'd understand then I'd think
11. oh thats ok we can get out of that but it he's
12. just feeling happy,
13. C: ah.hh ha ha ha ha
14. J: (where do we go mate ey) are you coming (to horse)

Jen then continues to re-do this question into a puzzle format more clearly. She repeats part of the enquiry in line 4, (oh the school thing), and then re-starts a puzzle format with two assessments – he's got no actual issue and he's done a lot of school work (lines 4 and 5). She presents the problem in line 6, that the horse is just happy. Caroline offers a minimal response and Jen continues in line 10-12 to elucidate the problem. Caroline's laughter in line 13 possibly orientates to relieving tension and Jen turns her attention to the talk, moving out of the puzzles talk and turning to her horse for the final position 'where do we go matey' (line 14). She draws the horse in to the conversation as a knowledgeable participant (he owns the problem after all), rather than the second speaker. This avoids the potential candidate solutions, or any suggestion that Jen may have been foolish to take on a lame horse. In this way, Jen appears to maintain her personal order – that she was not mistaken to take this horse on, avoiding possible threats to her competence by managing the interaction in a way that protects her personal investment, both in terms of her ability to manage the horse through this 'wild' time and her investment in the horse's health improving.

When multiple speakers are involved in joint problems, both competence and influence become at stake for both speakers. Three months later than extract 6.1, Zip's problem is discussed again, but this time between Melissa (who has now become his regular rider) and Zara. Zip is now lame again and the discussion involves a tussle of competence and positions of influence between Melissa and Zara in deciding the appropriate action to take. Figure 4 shows the initial position of the speakers in this episode. Zara on the left has her back to the camera and is pointing at Melissa, who is stood in front with a yellow jacket next to Zip, the grey horse.

Figure 4: Melissa and Zip



(6.7.1): The Zip puzzle (January 2010)

1. Z: your doing Zip.< .hhh I think he's >looking a bit< better
2. (Zara pointing finger at Melissa)
3. M: Yea:
4. Z: Yea I think he's moving around better. OK,

In line 1, Zara presents an assessment that Zip appears to be looking better. She re-does her assessment in line 4, in a somewhat quick and assertive way that prefers an agreement response, with her utterance ending in OK. Simultaneously she looks like she will depart on the video. However, Melissa does not offer overt agreement. In line 5 Melissa suggests a course of action and then introduces the problem, following Zara's repeated assessments.

(6.7.2)

5. M: OK (>°as it then as°<) as it then as Saturday and Sunday just

6. Z: [°yes° °yes°
 7. to [straight his leg:s, (.) Saturday he wasn't very we:ll,
 8. Z: [↑yea, Yea, yes °doing well°
 9. Z: The trouble is I don't know whether I'm balancing between
 10. stiffness ,which I think he is,
 11. M: yea
 12. Z: and and his feet which isss

Melissa's expansion of the problem also presents a claim to knowledge about the problem, as she talks from her personal experience (Saturday he wasn't very well, line 7), which Zara does not have access to (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). This appears to treat Zara's assessments as the beginning of a puzzle sequence and starts the next stage, opening up the problem by stating that the horse had not been very well. Zara then expands this problem slot, by outlining the trouble she has in line 9. She clearly takes ownership of the problem, through her use of I – I don't know (line 9) and I think he is (line 10). Indeed, Zip is her horse. However, the challenge around authority to make decisions for Zip continues.

(6.7.3)

13. M: .<Saturday he was definitely in pain.
 14. Z: Yea
 15. M: **Sunday** he was stiff.
 16. Z: yea
 17. M: cause we had him mouching round about five times in a
 18. circl:le, just to give him a bit of ↑exercis:e, and
 19. he was (a bit easier then) when he went back in again,
 20. Z: [yes yes
 21. M: but on Saturday he didnt even
 22. Z: no no well he can [()
 23. M: [and and his feet (on Sunday they
 24. felt a bit cooler as wel:l

In line 13 Melissa states that Zip was ‘definitely in pain’. She continues to detail her observations in a precise manner (lines 15-24), again constructing herself as highly knowledgeable and a competent contributor, able to influence what the course of action should be. Although Zara begins to interject at line 22, she seems less confident in her line of action given that it is presented more slowly and it is not until line 24 when Melissa makes a positive statement about the horse, that Zara is able to come back, as in line 25.

(6.7.4)

25. Z: Good [.hhh yes °they were cooler on Sunday° ↑ri:ɪht
 26. M: [After the **after** the exerci After the exercise.
 27. [()_
 28. Z: [↑**He might quite like** to be lead round the school
 29. (if you’d like) today
 30. M: Yea [yess:s what I thought
 31. Z: [so er Right. Okay,

Zara’s interjection is done mostly in overlap with Melissa apparently in an attempt to return to the business, where she suggests that Melissa might lead Zip. This ‘suggestion’ is done in a particularly indirect manner suggesting the horse might like it if she (Melissa) would (line 28).

However, Melissa does not give in to the positioning of herself as someone who needs to be told and in her alignment with the idea in line 30 invokes the qualification ‘what I thought’. Zara then finishes, very quickly with final intonation, emphasis on the ‘t’ of the right, before moving immediately to talk to the next person. Thus it seems here that there is some tussling going on where Melissa and Zara jostle for having the greatest influence (deciding the course of action) and demonstrating their competence to make

this decision. In this way there seems to be an intricate link produced in this context between people doing competence and doing influence.

Using puzzles to resist influence

This chapter is building an argument that suggests that in order to understand influence, the social actions concurrent with influence must be considered. Where puzzles are jointly done or where they are other initiated, there are clear risks to the competence of participants in taking up a position of being influenced. Some self initiated puzzles can become monologues positioning the person as more influential or more competent (e.g. 6.5). Other self initiated puzzles are more risky for the initiator in the sense that they risk themselves being 'influenced' or displayed as having limited competence. This raises the question of why speakers might take this risk. Arguably however, this can be effective in resisting influence in other areas. This is illustrated in Extract 6.8, where Sandra, Eliza and Chloe are discussing whether Sandy wants to put her name down for a riding lesson for the next morning with a visiting instructor, on her own horse. Sandra uses the puzzle surrounding her horse, 'Gem' to resist putting her name down for a lesson.

(6.8.1) Sandra accounting for not having organised a lesson: The Gem

Puzzle

1. E: **Sandra**
2. S: Yea
3. E: are you having a lesson tomorrow?
4. S: I don't know I think (.) he wasn't as uneven as he was
5. in the week,
6. E: aha
7. S: Just a slight slight slight So I don't know.
8. I don't know whether to give it another couple of days
9. E: aha

10. S: Or whether to push it the trouble is if I if I push it
11. and I make it worse then I shall blame myself

The puzzle pattern is triggered in lines 1-3, with a question about whether or not Sandra would like to have a lesson in the morning from Eliza. In lines 4-5, Sandra presents an assessment that her horse was “uneven” during the week (a frequent way of describing lameness in horses). Sandra self initiates the puzzle in lines 6 and 7 with repeated assessments of the horse’s slight lameness and continues to fill the problem slot in lines 8, 10 and 11. Here it is clear that the puzzle seems a side step from the initial question of whether Sandra wanted a lesson. However, an implied position is constructed that the horse is unsuitable to ride. These assessments (as discussed on p.8) make the lameness a “real” problem, which exists beyond Sandra’s own control and wants in terms of the lesson. This is further supported by Sandra’s construction of apparent helplessness ‘I don’t know what to do’ and that she would ‘blame herself’ if something happened.

However, the initiation of the puzzle sequence then presents a slot for further candidate solutions, offered by Eliza in lines 12 -15.

(6.8.2)

12. E: Put a (boot) on the feet
13. Or we just do the half private session each cause
14. I am worried about Charlie’s saddle so if you want it to
15. we could both do 20 minutes
16. S: Let me br let me brood on that and I’ll em
17. and I’ll think about it

In line 16 Sandra says that she will ‘brood’ on the possible solutions offered by Eliza, in the spirit of the ambiguity that seems inherent within puzzles formats. Arguably, setting up the sequence as a puzzle still in the progress of being solved provided an account for

why there was some hesitation over taking part in the lesson. Sandra's final position stayed with the ambiguity of the problem and seemed, at that moment at least, to quieten the request to participate.

The interesting issue around Sandra's puzzle is that the initiation of a puzzle format seems to carry the possibility of being influenced - of alternatives being suggested that the speaker does not want to take up (or ambiguously acknowledges). As illustrated here, although the puzzle format can provide an occasion for influence which is often dispreferred, it can also resist influence by providing an account or warrant for a different course of action.

Yard Puzzles: Amplifying the advantages and disadvantages

In considering the use of puzzles as a social practice of influence within livery yards, it was clearly observable that people frequently repeated the same puzzles so that they become what I will term "yard puzzles". These yard puzzles seem to amplify the main social functions of puzzles (e.g. as accounts, their depersonalizing actions and placing competence at stake) and may be an explanation for some forms of group influence. This more longitudinal view of puzzles provides a temporal context showing how puzzles evolve over time and how the content of puzzles themselves can become a resource for yard members. So, once puzzles are produced by a problem owner, they do not necessarily remain individual puzzles. Having been voiced they also become a part of the discursive context of the yard.

To illustrate yard puzzles, recall extract 6.8, and the case of Sandra and her horse, Gem. Gem's lameness was a recurrent problem over a period of around three months. At

different points in the data, this difficulty is repeatedly raised through the puzzle format, and becomes used in accounting for things in slightly different ways. Thus, in extract 6.9, which occurs 3 weeks after extract 6.8, Sandy uses the puzzle format to account for not riding Gem that day.

(6.9.1) Rehearsed puzzles creating a yard puzzle: The Gem Puzzle

1. C: () hes not fit to do [ride at the moment
2. cos Zara said you tried to go cubbing
3. S: [well no [yea
4. S: yea we tried to go cubbin:g and (.) he's not as he was
5. he he we think the way he pulled u:p
6. C: mmm
7. S: (°where did that go I thought I put it here°)
8. the way he pulled up it was like he was hopping along
9. C: [yea
10. S: [like he had hit a stone and bruised his sole, t so .hhh
11. I was gon I've made the decision we are going to get him we'll
12. ge get him doped and get the blacksmith to put back shoes
13. C: [Oh
14. S: [and hopefully see if that helps .hh he hes not
15. hes not uneven today
16. C: mm

In this extract the first assessment is presented in lines 4-5 that the issue was “the way he (Gem) pulled up”, and this is redone in line 8. In line 10 the problem is introduced “like he had bruised his sole” and a candidate decision in 11-14 that they are going to dope the horse to replace his shoes, before a final position in line 14 – “hopefully see if that helps”. There are links between extract 6.8 and 6.9 such as using the same term ‘uneven’ to describe the lameness in both extracts. The rehearsal seems to shorten extract 6.9 compared with 6.8. Further, less candidate solutions are offered in extract 6.9; Sandra’s candidate solution (to talk to the blacksmith, line 12) is not challenged and other speakers do not offer candidate solutions. This reduction in offering candidate

solutions perhaps indicates how the puzzle has become more accepted as something not easily solved. Further, as it has now been rehearsed and repeated, this puzzle seems to provide a more accepted account for not riding the horse. The reduced number of candidate solutions also seems to reduce the sense in which others might be seen as critical of Sandra's competence. The reality of the event is not disputed and is accepted as something that Sandra cannot affect.

However, the practicing of these puzzles does not produce an entirely static puzzle and they can evolve. For example, we see a gradual transformation of the Gem Puzzle, which begins to be evident in extract 6.9, where a decision has been made, and there is some confusion of the terms 'I' and 'we' in lines 10 and 11. This potentially relates to the problem becoming less individualised and increasingly something that we, the yard, are doing something about. This puzzle was repeated on numerous occasions and is captured in multiple variations within my data. This evolution and repetition arguably highlights the problem and its lack of a solution to the larger group. This in turn appears to set the scene for the next extract, almost a rhetorical response to the Gem Puzzle.

In this next extract (6.10) a new puzzle is raised by Zara that builds on the Gem puzzle and provides a solution: to sell Gem.

(6.10.1) Solving a yard puzzle

1. Z: >We are going to have another one joining us soon<
2. aren't we
3. S: well hopefully yea, hopefully
4. C: Another,
5. S: Me e:m [a horse that wants to do what she wants to do
6. C: [you've found one have you
7. S: N:o I haven't found one yet but

8. Z: >she knows what she wants to do<
 9. S: I think we're coming to the decision that,
 10. we've got as far as we can with, big man
 11. Z: °Yes°
 12. S: cause we just keep hitting all brick walls,
 13. unfortunately (.)°which is a shame but you know°°
 14. Z: He's lovely but
 15. S: but [yea,
 16. Z: [you you've °got to get another°
 17. [yea but they're too expensive just to keep them
 18. C: [yea
 19. S: .hh ha ha ha yea aren't they
 20. S: yea yea no absolutely and I did say that to Em
 21. I said if I could find a (twin) and I had a fortune
 22. I'd have a pet no problem [however
 23. Z: [ha ha
 24. C: °Yea you know you know it's different when you've
 25. got maybe a little old, retired pony°
 26. S: Yea yea I'm fine °>you know< but°

Zara provides an assessment of a new event by stating that a new horse will be arriving soon in line 1. Somewhat less certainly, Sandra acknowledges this in line 3, but as with other puzzles that are other initiated, she does this in a more hesitant fashion, than when introducing her own material. In line 4 the redoing is started by me and expanded by Sandra in line 5, where she takes more ownership of the puzzle highlighting that it will be a horse that “wants to do what she wants to do”. This appears to rhetorically respond to the previous, repeated puzzle around Gem’s lameness, where Sandy was unable to take part in lessons, go hunting, etc. Then in line 9, the “trouble” is outlined – that they are not going to be able to improve her current horse any further, a direct reference to the Gem puzzle. Zara presents some of the justification in line 17 and Sandy strongly aligns with this in line 20. The hesitation is picked up in this instance by me and I add further

support to the reasons and in line 26, Sandy ends somewhat sadly “yea yea I’m fine you know but”, presenting the final position.

This extract arguably has two central functions. Firstly, it informs me, the third person in the party of news that another horse is coming, and secondly, it seems to contribute to developing a further justification / gaining further support for the decision, which is for Sandy to sell her horse and to purchase another.

The account in this instance is fairly well established through the frequent rehearsal of the “Gem puzzle” so that the purchase of another horse is legitimised. Further, it mitigates any other explanations being required. This puzzle also seems to respond rhetorically to the Gem puzzle, which always produced an ambiguous solution, to produce a clearer solution.

The notion of yard puzzles has important implications for how individual extracts are considered and for what it is to become a yard ‘member’. To end the analysis here, just return to Extract 6.1. If we re-analyse this extract in this light of “yard puzzles”, considering Zip’s feet as a yard puzzle that Pat is drawing on and potentially one that has been repeatedly discussed in the yard as we have seen in other cases (the horse has had a problem with his feet for 2 years at this point), then the group relations become clearer. For me, I have already been told by Zara what to do with the horse. I draw on this to support my actions in the extract, but Pat’s comments seemed unclear and puzzling. However Pat is arguably rehearsing a yard puzzle, which I am not familiar with, and so I treat it as a challenge to how I am riding the horse rather than a shared awareness of the

yard. This quandary might highlight some of the less clear difficulties that people can experience on entering a new yard, in learning the yard puzzles and practices and how people in the yard itself might also not be aware of the effects of the “yard voice” as it were.

Conclusions

Chapter 4 set out the aims of the current research as to identify events that could be considered as social influence and interrogate them. Focusing on practices of influence within the livery yard, this chapter interrogated the ways that problems can be indirectly made the focus of interaction and candidate solutions be offered through what I have termed the ‘puzzle sequence’. Using this to explore social influence, influence was shown to be tangled up in other social actions including the demonstration of social competence, accounting for actions, descriptions of problems and the implicit construction and acting out of yard membership. It is arguable that the potential negative effect on competence could explain why the ‘overload of advice’ is described as problematic for people in livery yards. A similar effect was found by Heritage and Sefi (1992) in their study of health visitors, where in many sequences clients worked hard not to take up the advice that was offered. The use of ambiguity here and in the work of Pudlinski (2002) (introduced in Chapter 3, p. 79) arguably sets the pathway to suggesting that influence, although not directly appearing to be problematic, is very difficult for people to manage within interactions. Viewing influence as part of a collection of simultaneous social actions can as such be considered as essential to make sense of these practices.

Primarily, this approach emphasises how influence might be considered as something that people display through interaction but rather than a lone process, one that coincides with other portrayals of self. It could be argued that the taking up of a position of influence relates to the ways that people might impose a personal order on the interaction. Thus, there are slots for people to accept problems but rather than simply following these, there are a range of other issues for presenting self that people play out, such as not simply wanting to be positioned in a way that suggests they are not themselves able to actively take charge of their own problems. In this sense social influence in this subtle way can be considered as intrinsically related to people's sense of self and the order of the yard.

In considering how this relates to traditional approaches to social influence, this practice further challenges the common distinction made between private and public agreement as an outcome of social influence (see Chapter 2, page 46). Rather than emphasising the importance of private cognitive change, the immediate interactional context becomes more important in presenting an environment that might enable a person to be influenced and yet maintain their own strong personal order. In this way, language can be considered as even more fundamental in understanding the effects of factors such as a person's level of interest, emphasised in dual processing models as determining which processing route people might engage in. Rather these 'factors' can be reconceptualised as concepts or objects that are negotiated in talk. The effects of social influence and related concepts can thus be considered as highly context dependent.

Developing from Chapter 5, it is possible to see here that influence is something that can be done in practice through oblique suggestions in the puzzle sequence, but also that people orientate to taking up influence by others in particular ways, frequently related to delaying taking up candidate solutions. In this way this analysis might also be argued to illustrate how through the practice of influence, a particular object of influence is also negotiated and developed as meanings become associated with other difficult social actions such as a threat to individual's actions.

The use of a longitudinal study here was particularly useful in identifying that numerous puzzles were repeated. The repetition of variations of the same puzzles over time, until they become 'yard puzzles' also appeared to illustrate how these social practices become entrenched within a community. In this way these puzzles become part of the 'common knowledge' of the yard and can be particularly powerful in creating group boundaries that exclude new group members. Rehearsal seemed to increase the legitimacy of problems and particular solutions, increasing the power of puzzles as accounting tools and creating increased power to either demonstrate competence (or incompetence in the other who did not know the puzzle). In this way a shared reality appeared to be created, which had to be learned by new members. Thus it seemed that people within the community not only shared interpretative repertoires, but also used these patterns of interaction as discursive resources to legitimise their own actions. Thus this develops from the discursive studies that have explored fact construction through a rhetorical format (such as in Edwards & Potter, 1992a), focusing on individual claims and accounts to explore in further detail how this work can be understood at a group level.

One of the most intriguing parts of this analysis was that within these puzzles Zara was frequently used as a resource and seemed to carry greatest legitimacy in producing change within these sequences. Chapter 7 now moves on to consider the ways in which Zara became almost symbolic of power within the yard.

Chapter 7: Power, authority, influence and identity

An understanding of social influence and the meanings it has for people raises multiple questions for identity which include what it is to be positioned as either the person who is influenced or the person doing the influencing.

This thesis has already shown how people seem to construct ambiguous relationships with both of these positions. Chapter 5 illustrated an awareness of social influence as a practice, yet participants worked to distance themselves from being directly positioned as either influencing others or being influenced by them. In Chapter 6 the negotiation of influence in practice highlighted issues around how identities are displayed, such as the degree of personal competence that an influencer or a target of influence was able to display. Yet in certain contexts some people more often identify with one or other of these subject positions. As traditional approaches have acknowledged, some individuals appear to have greater power and influence over others (Chapter 2, page 49), yet leadership research has begun to also consider the importance of followers in terms of leaders adapting their leadership to include followers (Yukl and Tracy, 1992) and also in terms of how leadership might be done in collaborative ways (Vine et al, 2008). This chapter furthers the study of influence by shifting the focus from practices of influence to examine influential identities; how power and authority is constructed for some people so that particular people are described as having more influence over other people.

Specifically this chapter focuses on the yard owner Zara to explore leadership, authority, power and influence as related to identity. It is Zara who makes most decisions in the yard and arguably her position in the social order as the owner constructs a sense of

power and authority. Nevertheless as this chapter will show, there are limitations in how this is enacted. Zara has appeared repeatedly within the analysis of Chapters 5 and 6 as a central player. Zara first appeared in Chapter 5, extract 5.5 (page 128) where she was used as a resource by Josephine to help with decision making. In Chapter 6 she appears multiple times, for example in 6.2 (page 150) where she attempts to deviate from the puzzle format of talk and in extract 6.10 (page 166) where it was Zara who appeared entitled to change yard puzzles and draw them towards solutions. The current chapter seeks to further interrogate the 'influential identity' that Zara displays. Further, it will offer insights as to how this discursive approach manages issues such as power, leadership and authority also traditionally studied as part of social influence (Chapter 2, page 48).

This analysis of influence and identity incorporates consideration of the broader discursive context of the livery yard, with its particular economic and social orders as described in Chapter 4 (page 106). This includes, for example the economic order imposed on Zara as she is paid to look after and care for other people's horses, her position as an employer, and how this effects the construction of an influential identity. A central discursive theme was that of responsibility, which Zara links to how she had to influence other people. Through the examination of these broader discourses it is possible to examine the particular subject positions of influence that these discourses produce and how Zara imposes her own personal orders on these discourses (in the sense used by Wetherell (2007)). This chapter combines this level of analysis with a micro analysis of conversations to explore in detail the multiple complex ways that influence becomes related to identity.

This exploration involves more analysis of the interview data than in other chapters.

Themes were developed from a close examination of the meanings and interactional features constructed in both interviews and conversation data, as well as the textual data collected. A data driven approach was used pulling out central discourses that seemed to traverse all of these data types. The focus of this analysis was on revealing the range of discursive devices that seemed to invoke meanings of an influential identity, drawing on multiple aspects of discourse (from fine grained and rhetorical analysis of conversations, through to the examination of broader discourses evident in the interview data). These were drawn together by the partial meanings of influence that seemed to allow or inhibit influence, as well as the important balance between how liveries positioned Zara and how she positioned herself.

Two broad dimensions informed the analysis presented in this chapter. Firstly, that there was a tension between how yard members position Zara and how Zara positions herself in relationship to the yard. Secondly, it was helpful to distinguish different types of discourse that people used to construct Zara as more or less influential. Such different types of discourse included the micro-level, where influential identities are conducted at a turn by turn level as people engage in the business of the yard. This can be distinguished from conversations where people talked about Zara's relationship to the yard. Talk about Zara is seen both in everyday interactions, especially the 'chit chat' during tea breaks or when out riding, and in the interviews conducted, involving descriptions of Zara.

This chapter begins by exploring how Zara's identity can be considered as influential. It then focuses in detail on 3 particular areas that related to the display of Zara's influential identity, illustrating how Zara is positioned in a different way to other yard members. The first area to be considered is the way in which responsibility is constructed for and by Zara in relationship to the yard and care of the horses and how this provides particular warrants for influence. Next the chapter will examine how accounts for decisions are done within the yard both by liveries and by Zara herself. Finally, entitlement to lead is discussed. Many of these ideas do not map directly onto how power, leadership and authority has previously been discussed; this relationship is explored in the discussion section, along with the implications of this study for power and authority as related to social influence.

Posing the question of Zara's influential identity

This section clarifies the focal issue of this chapter: that Zara's identity within the yard is different from that of other yard members and that her identity can be linked to authority, power and leadership. It does this with an example of talk between Melissa and Zara about the health of Zip, Zara's horse. This conversation occurred on a busy Saturday morning in February 2010. All the mucking out had been done for the morning and Zara (the yard owner) had made tea for everyone. Zara and several liveries were standing near Zip's stable in the indoor area. Melissa (M), Zip's rider was standing beside Zip's stable discussing with Zara (Z) how Zip's problem with his legs was progressing. Sally (S) was standing outside the adjacent stable. Peter (P), Melissa's husband was also present and the following conversation unfolded (Extract 7.1).

(7.1) Discussing Zip: The influential position of Zara

1. M: He's better than last week .h you know,
2. S: Nah haha
3. Z: mm.
4. M: You couldn't (.) you couldn't brush
5. him properly (and his legs)he were really
6. irritat::ed_
7. Z: >£He's happier isn't he<
8. S: Ye:::a
9. M: [I couldn't touch his bad legs or
10. Z: [Yea
11. M: >clean mud off (to clean them)<
12. On Sunday he was (just so [low)
13. Z: [Janet said he was really
14. Bad. (.)
15. M: Yaaa I know
- 16. Z: ↓It's a good job I: didn't
- 17. see him [(.) eh ↑he he eh ↑hu hu ↓ha::hhh he might
- 18. P: [you're telling me ((nodding at Zara))
- 19. Z: not have been ↓'ere_ [eh hu ha ha ha ((Zara leans
20. Forwards))
21. S: [Oh Godt
22. M: .<Oh no [he wasn't that bad
23. P: [Not too bad
24. M: He was not that ↓ba:::d
25. P: he wasn't that ba:d
26. Z: (places her right hand on her hip,
27. eating an apple with the other hand)



28. P: No he did as soon as you walked in this morning you
29. could see () ((waving arms))
30. J: It was the worst he has ever been.
31. Pat: Yea, you said yea
32. P: Yea
33. Z: Mmmm

This excerpt, specifically post line 16 illustrates how Zara's comments can have a dramatic effect on other people within the yard. To unpack this, consider Zara's statement that if she had witnessed the horse being so ill she might well have had the horse put down (lines 16-19). This statement appears to carry a threat, all be it one that relates to a behaviour that is already resolved. Hepburn and Potter (2011a) described threats as frequently having an 'if ... then' structure. Here, Zara comments that *if* she had seen him (Zip) *then* he might not have been here. Although this refers to the horse's behaviour, rather than that of Melissa, and behaviour that has occurred in the past, both Melissa and her husband Peter respond immediately to minimise Zip's illness (lines 22-26). This response treats Zara's statement as a threat though possibly one against discussion about Zip being unwell, rather than his actual illness. This resistance to Zara's suggestion is then upgraded through repetitions by both Melissa and Peter and an account by Peter in lines 28 and 29. In treating Zara's statement as a threat, this grants Zara an identity powerful enough to make such decisions in reality. Indeed, as Hepburn and Potter argued, a threat is necessarily carried out where someone has the authority to act. Arguably in this case, this potential threat is designed to prevent further discussion around the horse's illness. In line 28, Peter begins a further account of Zip's behaviour and this is responded to with Zara placing her right hand on her hip. This display appears to prefer a closing of the discussion. Janet herself then comes in to suggest that he had been really bad and this is

minimized by Melissa and the topic is then changed. In this way it seems that Zara was able to influence and control the level of talk about Zip.

Similar effects were illustrated in Chapter 6, where Zara appeared to more frequently interrupt conversations and suggest candidate solutions (extracts 6.2, 6.6, 6.10). It is these types of sequences that the current chapter sets out to better understand and to explore in more detail the possible dimensions of Zara's 'influential identity' as the yard leader.

Responsibility as producing a requirement to influence

A key feature of the discourse around Zara relates to the ways that she produces herself, and is produced as responsible for the welfare of the horses on the yard. This discourse of responsibility carries with it an authority to make particular decisions and an expectation that Zara will take on this role. It also provides a useful illustration of how some of the discourses of power and authority can be used at an interactional level. This is important as part of the bridging between an understanding of broader societal discourses and the impact that these have on people's everyday lives. As Forrester and Ramsden (2001) highlight, considerable research has been done on power and authority that explores how ideologies are constructed, but there is less work examining how they are actually used. This section explores firstly how this discourse of responsibility is constructed in social discourse and then examines some of the dilemmas it creates and how it positions Zara in relation to leadership, power and authority.

Firstly, the responsibility for equine welfare can be seen at least in part within excerpt 7.1. It could be suggested that Zara's comment, in this extract, to have the horse put down is rather harsh. However, in her individual interview she spent a considerable amount of time discussing her position as responsible for equine welfare and how she frequently had to make difficult decisions. Zara discussed how she was 'carrying so many oldies' and took pains to mention that it was her responsibility ultimately to decide when it is time for them to be put down. Within extract 7.1 the response of Melissa and Peter was to reassure Zara that Zip 'was not that bad' orientating both to Zara's position as able to make the decision to have him put down but equally, arguably acknowledging that if he was that bad Zara's responsibility for the decision might mean that he had to be put down. This discourse of responsibility is reflected in guidelines produced by DEFRA (7.2) (see also Chapter 1, page 19).

(7.2) NWEF Livery Yards and Equine Welfare, p.50

343 It is important that livery yards are in the charge of people with experience and competence in handling and caring for horses. It is recommended that people in charge of horses in livery yards be acquainted with the equine industry standards for livery yards, the Codes of Practice for the Welfare of Equines and this Compendium.

344 There are specified minimum standards produced by the horse industry, to address livery yard welfare issues including stable construction, manure storage, feeding and watering of horses, maintenance of grazing land, fencing, monitoring horses' health and the administration of routine preventative care.'

(National Equine Welfare Council, 2009, p.50, original formatting).

This social construction of the responsibility of livery yards and horse owners for the animals in their care and the appropriate maintenance and upkeep of yards creates a

position where the person needs to be experienced and competent (NEWC, point 343) and clearly aware of responsibilities beyond the immediate concerns of the yard members. That is, yard owners need to be 'acquainted with the equine industry standards for livery yards'. Thus arguably this legislation contributes to constructing livery yard owners as both competent and potentially culpable. Indeed, DEFRA state that:

'Under the [Animal Welfare Act 2006] animal owners and keepers are under a legal duty of care for the animals for which they are responsible on a permanent or temporary basis.' (DEFRA 2009, p.1).

Indeed DEFRA produces a subject position for a person in charge of the welfare of horses where they have to make appropriate decisions in terms of the welfare of the horse. In this way it provides the ultimate (in this context) account for directing people in ways that could sometimes be considered as rude. It justifies influence over others in terms of advocating the best course of action for the welfare of the horse.

The unspoken challenge within this discourse is the way in which this responsibility relates to the relationship between a livery yard owner and their staff and the horse owners that pay them. The NEWC (2009) state that it is important to produce a contract that includes who is ultimately responsible for the welfare of the horse, but this does not leave space to consider what this means for the relationships within the livery yard. Indeed, the ways in which responsibility is conferred on Zara by liveries is slightly different. For example consider 7.3, a short excerpt from the interview of Sandra and Jen (this was a joint interview).

(7.3) Sandra and Jen discussing Zara

*S: If there was ever a problem, then Zara would sort it
J: Yea she would. She's good like that.'*

This extract highlights how Zara does the problem solving. Interestingly, in Jen's response 'she's good like that', this problem solving seems to be produced more directly as something that Zara chooses to take up, than something that she actually has to do. 7.4 also illustrates how the liveries construct Zara as someone to look up to and who is helpful.

(7.4) Melissa individual interview

'It is always so reassuring to know that Zara is there to ask any questions.'

These comments from liveries (7.3 and 7.4) position Zara as supportive because she is there and helpful, as a part of her nature (she's [Zara] good), rather than because of her responsibility (for example, 'she's good because she has to do that'). Nevertheless they still position Zara as taking care of and managing situations which might carry an air of being responsible. Indeed, the use of the term 'reassuring' in 7.4 might indicate that some level of responsibility is taken away from liveries, that Zara might take up for them.

At other times, when responsibility is invoked more directly by liveries there can be more unpleasant connotations. For example, one livery complained about her horse not having been turned out with boots on while Zara was away¹⁶. The complaint was aimed at Zara, which Zara comments on in 7.5.

¹⁶ NB the exact transcript has not been used here for reasons of confidentiality.

(7.5) Zara's comment of responsibility

'It is always my fault, and I was not even there'

This example of invoking blame and responsibility highlights the dilemmatic nature of a discourse of responsibility in relation to influence. On the one hand it provides a strong warrant for making decisions. On the other, it makes Zara herself culpable. An additional level is added to this analysis when we consider how Zara herself imposes a personal order on these dilemmas. She demonstrates a clear awareness of the dilemmatic nature of responsibility in her individual interview where she imposes her own personal order on this mismatch of discourses (7.6).

(7.6) Managing dilemmas of responsibility

1. *'Some situations are really grating - it's a very fine line you know you don't want to interfere with the*
2. *owners and their horses too much but you don't want a horse to suffer.*
3. *You know it's a bit like this one across the way there's nothing wrong with that horse (nodding towards*
4. *the opposite stable). And I had to step in last week cause I'm tired of the horse being blamed it was*
5. *up for sale for the third time in the year you know it is not the horse's fault, she was told it's a sports*
6. *horse and you can't expect cause that's a sports horse well you know If you want a plod then I'll get*
7. *you a plod you know its work it in the school and I've got it for 2 weeks now and she's got it on some*
8. *sort of supplement it's supposed to calm it down but it I'm afraid it's the nature of the horse and it's not*
9. *that's what I want to do I'd love to do dressage with him so we just hack around the lanes but for*
10. *someone who claims to care about their horse you just at the end of the day em you know*
11. *I ca cannot understand it.*
12. *Very difficult.'*

The personal order that Zara imposes is that she must balance things carefully and follow a 'fine line'. She exemplifies this by saying in line 4 'I had to step in last week because I am tired of the horse being blamed'. This phrasing positioned Zara as responsible, and therefore 'having' to step in as the horse was being blamed for being too excitable. If we situate this in the broader discourse of responsibility for equine welfare, this warrants interfering with decisions made by liveries – or at times, having to be influential. She

suggests that there is 'nothing wrong with the horse' (line 3), it is not 'his fault' (line 5) but the owner has decided to sell the horse. Zara ends by stating that this is 'Very difficult'. However, the interesting issue is that Zara seems to have positioned herself as responsible for the horse (and the livery owner), but does not quite offer a solution nor say how she is intending to exert influence. Nevertheless, this excerpt does indicate how this discourse of responsibility can be used to warrant 'interference' with liveries.

In summary, responsibility emerges as something that is acted out in talk and talked about but also contains embedded dilemmas. The economic order of the yard imposes particular constraints on how much influence Zara can have on yard members. Zara orientates to this within her individual interview, highlighting that it is 'very difficult'. Nevertheless, this same economic order makes Zara responsible for equine welfare even when she is not there, concurrent with a broader social order concerning equine welfare more generally. Thus it can be suggested that an ideological dilemma is emergent around Zara being considered as someone who will 'sort things out' and also someone who is limited in how they might achieve this. Arguably, this dilemma is implicit within the discussion of excerpt 7.1, where Zara has the ultimate responsibility for deciding the point at which Zip might need to be put down. However, the yard members in this instance provide the other side of the dilemma by drawing out the serious nature of this decision, particularly for example Serena's comment in line 21 in response to Zara's intimation that the horse will be put down: 'Oh God'. Arguably, a discourse of responsibility also positions Zara as someone who might need to be persuaded as it confers her with an ability to act on her beliefs (such as that the horse should be put down).

Accounting for decisions

It is not just constructions of responsibility that constitute an influential identity for Zara. Zara and other yard members also differ in the access they have to language, both in task focused interactions and in producing and maintaining relationships and each other's identities. This was clearly illustrated in terms of how decisions were accounted for within the yard environment. Decisions were interesting at two levels: 1) in terms of how Zara was used as a resource by yard members to account for their decisions and 2) as part of Zara's leadership and how Zara herself accounted for decisions.

The construction of Zara as having an influential identity is neatly illustrated through the effects that the use of her name had in accounting for decisions. For example, in excerpt 7.7 Jay is discussing her horse's health issue with Caroline and when asked about her approach she uses Zara as a resource to account for the actions that she is taking.

(7.7) Zara as a resource

1. C: How's Potter doing
2. J: He's em got to have a:::nother back person look at him he's
3. really lame when he trots down the hill
4. C: So you think they think it's his back
5. J: Well Zara's going to get **he:r** back lady out
6. C: Right
7. J: And em see what happens otherwise it will be the vet
8. C: Right

In this excerpt it is Zara's advice (line 5) that seems to provide an adequate explanation for Jay to be doing something to help her horse to get better. This stops any further questioning from Caroline, and invokes an alignment response. Further examples of this have been seen throughout this thesis. In 5.5 (page 128) the conclusion to the dilemma

about what to do with Dobin given the suspected colic is: 'where's Zara'. In 6.1.2 (page 147) in the discussion about how Zip is doing, to ward off the intimation that something is not correct I state 'Yea I mean she [Zara] says...'. In all of these cases the use of Zara as a resource appears powerful enough to stop further pursuit of what might be considered as uncomfortable questioning by the other party.

This strategy of using Zara as a resource to account for decisions is not available to Zara herself. Zara's presentation of her own opinion is considered in the next section, entitlement to influence. However, in terms of accounting for decisions, Zara draws on a different repertoire, frequently using authoritative external bodies. In both Zara's individual interview and her everyday talk she regularly refers to larger social organisations such as DEFRA (the Department for Environment, Fishing, Rural Affairs and Agriculture), the British Horse Society (who currently license livery yards), and professional competition bodies (British Eventing, British Dressage, British Show Jumping, British Show Pony Society). This can be illustrated through naturalistic talk. For example, in accounting for her opinion of a horse being valuable in excerpt 7.8 Zara uses her knowledge of affiliated competition. This is a discussion between Zara, Josephine, and Rebecca. Josephine is preparing to sell her horse and they are discussing the best ways to do this.

(7.8) Zara's positioning of herself as an agent of authority

1. Z: But if shes be:en registered
2. that's >yo kno< that's
3. enough to::uv (1.0) even though
4. she didn't do anything,
5. J: Ye::a,

6. Z: For them to realise that maybe she cann jump,
7. C: [(what was she registered as,)]
8. J: [She can jump.] [()
9. C: [where was she
10. registered,
11. Z: British Eventing.
12. C: [↑Ah_ OK,
13. J: [British Eventing.

Excerpt 7.8 follows a gap in the conversation, while the participants are watching the horse being schooled by Zara's daughter. Zara begins at line 1, introducing that if the horse has been "registered" (with a professional competition body) then she should be easier to sell. This "professional riding" discourse, as opposed to the more amateur bodies (such as riding clubs), is receipted by Josephine in line 5 with 'yeah' and a slight rising intonation as if indicative of a new way of using this known information. It instigates a flurry of interest between lines 7 and 13, which appears to support the position that this is useful. The excerpt ends with a repetition of the term 'British Eventing' stated by Zara in line 11 and repeated by Josephine (line 13) as if this is the be all and end all. The conversation then stops and participants return to watch the horse. It is as if the introduction of professional (or even a privileged) discourse through reference to the professional body, British Eventing, makes the comments on the horse's value more special or important.

Use of these repertoires appears to enable Zara to position herself as knowledgeable.

Indeed, it has been noted in other arenas that expert discourse frequently displays more power than experiential discourse (Veen, te Molder, Gremmen & van Woerkum, 2011).

Further it has been suggested that the design of utterances in this knowledgeable manner

can also render the other in a position of less power (Veen et al, 2011). In this way it is possible to suggest that there are different forms of discourse that Zara and the yard members are able to access with different effect and thus possibly together construct slightly different positions of influence for Zara. In some ways it seems that Zara is more authoritative when she is not present, as then the liveries and staff are able to use Zara to convince others of the correctness of her decisions. When she is present, Zara has to work harder as she does not have this resource to draw on.

Entitlement to influence

When conversations were examined at a turn by turn level, the moderation of Zara's influential identity is revealed to an even greater extent. Others seemed able simultaneously to acknowledge Zara as having an entitlement to influence them and at the same time to resist her influence. It seemed that the power of the liveries in giving power to Zara to be a leader was particularly important. This section explores in more detail some of the dilemmas around how Zara's entitlement to influence is jointly constructed. It highlights some interesting disparities in terms of how 'talk about' Zara (such as describing her as supportive) contrasts with some of the naturalistic conversations that are held within the yard. To illustrate this and consider these issues further, two examples are presented here with interesting question and answer formats.

The first extract to consider is 7.12. Here, although Eliza has not taken Zara's advice and demonstrates resistance to it, she nevertheless proffers Zara an entitlement to challenge her and tell her what she should do. In this extract, permission appears to be granted for Zara to make the comments that she does although some trouble is in evidence. Zara is

talking to Eliza and I am also present. Eliza has had some difficulties with her horse, which Zara has previously suggested are related to his saddle not fitting.

(7.12) Orientating to Zara as having entitlement to ask

1. Z How did you get on with the saddler,
2. (0.7)
3. E >Haven't phoned her **yet**<
4. Z [=right
5. E [I will do though [I'm going to phone her today (.)]
6. Z [OK] Right,
7. (0.6)
8. E >Yes<
9. Z =Do that.
10. E >Yes I do need a saddle<,
11. (0.3)
12. E [otherwise I'm lunging for the [next foreseeable future uh he hea
13. Z [°you do need a saddle° [Yea ↓no you need a saddle.
14. E Yes:s .hhh hhh. Yes:s.
15. C =are you going to get a different one all together, are you,
16. E yea, yea that one:s had it, hh. (1.0) totally had it. It must
17. be a few years old anyway now
18. Z (°°course it is°°)
19. E so:o I mean they they don't live all that long-
20. C Have you got something to use i >in the< me:an time
21. E N:o Im just lunging him, but actually I think lunging him's doing
22. some good cause hes actually getting in the school he's kind of
23. chilling out in there .hhh
24. C °°mmm°
25. E un:d he's he's yeah hes al↑right on the lunge, (1.0) he's not
26. too bad .hh n:uoh,

The first observation is that Zara is granted an entitlement to influence Eliza, by Eliza herself. For example at the beginning of the excerpt, Zara frames herself in line 1 as having an entitlement to ask about and make the suggestion that Eliza should contact the saddler. She does this by initiating with a question as a first pair part, including a rising intonation at the end. Eliza provides a dispreferred response to this statement,

characterised by the gap in line 2 (as the silence is between turns (Sacks, 1977)) and then the quickly spoken 'I haven't phoned her yet'. This dispreferred response arguably suggests that Zara might have the right to ask this question, or an entitlement as we are calling it here, as Eliza does respond to the question. However, the hesitation is also indicative of a dispreferred prior (Schegloff 2007), which ambiguously could refer to the fact that Eliza says that she has not done what was requested or potentially to the possible authority that Zara has to produce this situation.

Zara provides an acknowledgement token in line 4 and in overlap Eliza continues to account for her not having spoken to the saddler. This accounting is interesting on two levels. Firstly, accounts can often be considered as 'justification's' or ways of overcoming disagreements and displaying the person as pro-active in problem solving (Firth, 1995; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1990). Further, the use of a justification by Eliza for her inaction arguably further positions Zara as having had an entitlement to ask about whether she had changed her saddle, but also presents Eliza as accountable for her actions.

Secondly, the accounting by Eliza in 7.12 is interesting as it appears to support Zara's advice. Waring (2007) described accounts that come following advice and problematic uptake as normally designed to save the face of the recipient and produced by the advice giver (in this case, Zara). However, here this account is produced by Eliza herself. This accountability also does further work of foregrounding Eliza's agency. This seems to limit the extent of Zara's entitlement to influence, which becomes clearer as the conversation unfolds. It is as if Zara in this episode attempts to take up a position of entitlement to

influence that is not acknowledged to the same extreme by Eliza. This is illustrated as the progression of the conversation is inhibited by the number of silences that are heard. At line 7 there is a further silence before Eliza aligns in line 8 with Zara. In line 9, Zara produces a directive 'do that'. At this point Eliza begins to re-take control, making the clear statement that 'I do need a new saddle'. Again, the pause in line 11 seems indicative of the awkward nature of this. It is as if the conversation has become stuck in that Zara continues to take up a position that displays an entitlement to influence – that is in this case to tell Eliza what to do, which Eliza repeatedly responds to in a dispreferred manner.

The limits of the permissions that Zara is attributed are further seen as Eliza progresses the conversation. Eliza works to change how the 'problem' was initially framed by Zara as subject related (Eliza has not phoned the saddler), that is related to Eliza's inaction; to object related. She states that: the saddle has "had it" (line 16), and normalises this "they wear out" (line 18). Finally she manages her own stake, in terms of her competence, by suggesting that her (subject related) action is working well ("lunging him is doing some good") (lines 22-26). Again, the 'fine line' seems to be illustrated, demonstrating how entitlement to influence is as much conferred through the immediate interactions with liveries as it is from broader discourses. This seems to differ from the way that Zara is used as an idealised 'voice' or resource when she is not physically present.

A further example of Zara taking up a position of entitlement to influence, which is not quite receipted¹⁷ in a submissive manner is depicted in Extract 7.13. This extract is a discussion between Zara and Caroline about arrangements for the vet to visit and see Caroline's horse.

(7.13) Displaying entitlement to lead

1. Z: So Tuesday we've got the vet ɹday
2. and you've spoken >to the vet,<
3. C: I've spoken to the vet.
4. Z: right:=are you he:re or not here_
5. [(°Or your not sure°)
6. C: [I'll try to be here. .hh About nine forty fi:ve
7. (1.1)
8. Z: yes:s, we'll get her done first because
9. °I've got to be gone at eleven°
10. C: [right ok::ay
11. Z: [so that's fine

It is argued that broadly speaking in extract 7.13 Zara is proffered, and positions herself as having an entitlement to influence and lead the decisions around making arrangements. The evidence for this is that firstly in line 1, Zara begins with a change of state token, 'So' which is followed by an introduction of the vet topic. In line 2, she suggests to Caroline 'and you've spoken to the vet'. This seems to be an authoritative action as Zara appears to 'do the talking for' Caroline. It is an assessment that appears to strongly prefer agreement. Further in lines 4 and 5, Zara acknowledges this position and moves directly onwards to assertively question whether or not Caroline will be present for the vet's visit. This is made imperative by the emphasis on 'here or not here' in line 4. In these ways,

¹⁷ 'receipted' is a CA term describing how an utterance responds to the previous turn.

Zara is arguably taking up a position of entitlement to influence – she is leading and doing the decision making.

However, there are a number of features of this short interaction that also challenge this entitlement. In line 3, Caroline confirms that she has spoken to the vet, with a repeat, rather than an acknowledgement or ‘yes’ in agreement. Heritage and Raymond (2005) suggested that this use of a repeated assessment can be an attempt to reclaim epistemic authority. Rather than challenging this, Zara moves on to another set of questions about whether Caroline can be present. In line 6, Caroline initiates in overlap that she will try and be there – this use of uncertainty again, does something to reclaim some of the power in terms of not displaying complete compliance with the request made by Zara. The problematic nature of this is potentially also implicit in the lengthened silence in line 7. In line 8, Zara provides an account for why the timing has to be so early possibly in response to Caroline suggesting that she would try to be there by ‘nine forty-five’. Arguably, this positions the previous silence as a potential disagreement with Zara’s arrangements. This somewhat uncomfortable sequence is then ended in overlap with both speakers concluding. Again, suggesting some contest over authority.

Thus, it can be suggested that despite Zara’s positioning by yard members as holding responsibility there are different ways in which they hold her as responsible. Although Zara might be argued to be responsible for making arrangements (for example for the vet to visit the yard), there is also an economic order that interferes with her authority, that is that the liveries (Caroline in this case) pay Zara for a service. This legitimises them not entirely following what Zara suggests. Nevertheless in this setting, although there are various tensions it can be suggested that Caroline does ‘allow’ Zara to make

arrangements, whilst maintaining some level of control through suggestions such as that she will 'try' to be there at that time. This suggestion that Zara needs the permission from liveries to lead is clearly shown when Zara attempts to take a position of entitlement to make decisions and this is not allowed by liveries.

In summary, there is a clear tension around Zara's entitlement to influence. At some level she is conferred greater power and authority when she is not present, but in interactions there is always space for her to be challenged, even if these challenges come at different levels. So, returning one last time to extract 7.1 from the beginning of this chapter. In this extract, Zara was present and gave her opinion – that maybe the horse should have been put down. Interactionally there is a response that might indicate Zara was successful in controlling the conversation and preventing further talk or discussion about Zip. Her entitlement to influence is acknowledged however, through a strong line of resistance to her decision. Thus the multiple dimensions of influence are revealed. An influential identity that is constructed interactionally through unique spaces being made available in talk in interaction; and yet an entitlement to influence that is frequently resisted to various degrees in the meanings that people respond with, through an interactional sequence that maintains Zara's position as yard leader.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter picked up on parts of discourse that produced Zara in influential ways and parts that constrained the degree of influence that Zara was able to offer. The production of an influential identity was always partial and frequently dilemmatic. Thus it was possible for people to invest in authority (e.g. as here, in Zara's leadership) and

simultaneously resist it. This is reminiscent of Gibson's (2011) approach to Milgram's research, highlighting the considerable negotiation involved in influence that creates it as a highly dynamic concept.

The co-construction of influential aspects of identity is significant for the problem of strategies of influence. Chapter 2 (discussion of influence strategies and leadership, beginning on page 48) highlighted many of the problems that have been encountered in trying to identify and find specific strategies of influence that work. These difficulties focused on fitting the strategies to the context. The co-constructed nature of influence, that generates even the identity of an 'influential leader' means that followers have to grant an entitlement to the leader to influence them, explaining why simply applying a strategy might not be enough. In line with Larson and Lundholm's approach to understanding leadership strategies this approach illustrates the deeply contextually embedded nature of how leadership and authority is managed in practice. It becomes clear that particular strategies or approaches are directly modified by the ways in which followers construct situations and the personal order or sense making that the leader has to make, in matching broader discourses and interests (such as welfare and guidelines) with the experience of working in the moment by moment conversations with staff and clients. The current research expands this form of research from a micro focused approach on immediate interactions as used by Larsson and Lundholm (2010) to one that takes different views of the multiple aspects of discourse that can be involved in the construction of influential identities.

Indeed, a major contribution of the current work is the exploration of the contribution of some of these different, multiple forms of discourse to understand influential identities. One of the difficulties in previous research has been that fine grained studies of interaction have been unable to illuminate episodes of leadership in the traditional sense (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003a; Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003b; Kelly, 2008), and thus have suggested that researchers need to look mainly to broader Discourses of leadership. Nevertheless, Larsson and Lundholm (2010) and Vine et al (2008) argue that it is possible to view leadership in everyday activities. The current research arguably supports this, having shown how interactions involving, and talk about, Zara have a 'different' quality from other yard members. This study advances the work of Vine et al and Larsson by exploring not just naturalistic settings, but leadership across relationship and temporal contexts, and through different genres of discourse, including talk about Zara, as well as interactions involving Zara. It is argued that these different qualities, the different repertoires that Zara is able to access, her positioning by larger discourses, the ways in which she is talked about, and the entitlement to influence proffered in conversations constitute an identity of leadership.

It is worth commenting on how Zara appeared to be produced as more influential when she was not present and the greater challenges that she faced in gaining entitlement to influence when she was present. As discussed in chapter 3, discursive researchers in organisational research have struggled to reveal 'leadership' as it has been described in the literature or as the literature suggests it 'ought' to appear (what Vine et al (2008) term normative studies of leadership) within everyday interactions in organisations. However, it is suggested that this distinction between talk about leadership (gained from

interviews), and the ways that leaders are even talked about when they are not there, and how this differs from when they are present could be a useful avenue for further research to examine these mismatches.

Thus the emphasis on self and social influence most recently being developed and explored through combinations of dual processing models and Social Identity Theory (see Chapter 2 from page 48) seems somewhat justified, given the considerable import presented here on the ways in which displays of self are related to positions of influence. However, it also presents a number of challenges. Firstly, in terms of dual process models, the importance of meta reflective functioning has been considered (Petty and Brinol, 2008). What is not highlighted is the subtlety of how the self is always on display and thus affected by any orientation towards influence (see Chapter 6). Further, how messages themselves might invoke multiple and complex meanings and it is their management in language that may affect the degree to which the self is or is not involved in the production of a response to a message.

Larsson and Lundholm propose that Social Identity Theory remains a useful approach. They argued that, based on their studies of a Swedish bank, participants construct operational units that leaders and followers identify with as they talk. However, it is suggested that although this could be the case in some aspects of talk, the imposition of social identity theory as an explanation might be premature. The evidence here illustrates that people are constantly negotiating not just the immediate social group but also, broader meanings that are related to the specific context (in this case the order of

the livery yard, and social Discourses beyond that influencing how responsibilities are allocated in livery yards). People might proffer influential entitlement to leaders but, they also clearly reserve a right to personal agency in this context. This might relate to the economic order of the yard, where liveries are paying Zara for a service even though she appears to take up a position of leadership. Nevertheless, it questions the generalisation of social identity theory, developing the argument of Spears, Postmes, Lea, & Watt (2001, see also Chapter 2, page 52) that social identity theory might not consider context in enough detail.

Nevertheless in a similar way to social identity theory, the findings from the current research suggest that the group is an essential part of constructing leadership roles. Here it was clear that the entitlement to lead came through yard members positioning Zara as the leader and that Zara could not take up this role without these permissions. However, where Social Identity Theory often emphasises the prototypical nature of the leader (Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds and Schmitt, 2010; Haslam, Reicher and Platow, 2011), in this case a markedly different role was carved out for Zara. Zara was constructed as having unique responsibilities to yard members and their horses, yet these were also constrained through the economic order of the yard. Zara herself expressed the difficulty of walking a 'fine line' to maintain and work towards a degree of equine welfare that at times might be challenged by liveries. This theme of responsibility arguably also contributes to setting Zara up as distanced from other yard members. Thus it is suggested that a more nuanced notion of leadership is required that can more effectively manage the simultaneous acceptance and negotiation of authority.

It is argued then, that influence even in terms of association with a person is constructed in particular and unique ways that complement the context that individuals act in. Thus its meaning might be suggested to be something that is continually in negotiation and a part of a constructed reality, rather than a fixed and specific type of process, as might be suggested from some more traditional approaches to social influence research.

Chapter 8: *Re*Presenting Social Influence

This concluding chapter argues that the very conceptualisation of social influence within social psychology can be questioned, challenged and extended to offer a richer understanding of its role in people's everyday lives. The focus on language use in everyday lives has revealed a mismatch between what traditional theories of social psychology have offered to understand social lives and the ways in which every day life unfolds. If psychology is to offer relevant answers for mundane situations, then we need to develop methodologies and understandings that can accommodate complexity more effectively.

The chapter brings together the main arguments which address this gap. These are firstly, that the consideration of language is of utmost importance in understanding social influence. Secondly, a social constructionist approach is valuable in revealing the flexibilities of meanings that are understood as social influence such as differences between descriptions and practices of social influence. Thirdly, it provides a particular method for studying and examining social influence. That is, that detailed attention to conversational interactions synthesised with an awareness of positioning and the rhetorical nature of language enables a more nuanced consideration of how aspects of social influence can be tied to the social context.

It is suggested here that a discursive approach to social influence emphasises its multifarious nature. That not only can social influence be understood in multiple guises

and forms as traditional approaches have illustrated (e.g. minority / majority influence, different forms of agreement etc.) but also, the analytic stance that is taken reveals and highlights more clearly how the same social practice can be read in multiple ways by both interactants and analysts.

Drawing on the research evidence presented in this thesis, this final chapter explores how shifting the epistemological approach to social influence reveals more of the social importance and functions of social influence as it is acted out in everyday life. It highlights how a critical awareness of the construction of meanings of social influence can reveal fundamental assumptions that have been problematic in advancing comprehensive theories and understandings of social influence.

The chapter begins by reiterating the main arguments of this thesis. It reviews the contribution made by each chapter and shows how these steps build towards the re-conceptualisation of social influence. It then progresses to examine the implications of this conceptualisation of social influence for social influence researchers, provides methodological reflections on the use of a synthetic discursive approach and ethnography for revealing greater understandings of how social life operates. Finally, it examines how researchers might take this approach forwards in the future.

Representing the main arguments of the thesis

Social influence is a very broad, complex and sometimes elusive concept to study and theorise. This thesis illustrated how a focus on language can provide greater clarity on

why these difficulties have plagued the study of social influence, provided a methodology that is able to open up the multiple meanings of social influence and be critical of how social influence is understood, and shown how this might be applied.

The journey to reach this position began with the research question set out in chapter 1 which was *how can social influence be understood from a social constructionist perspective?* The first challenge was to explore appropriate empirical contexts for a study of social influence. The livery yard was eventually selected as it offered an opportunity to examine a particular group in close quarters. However, traditional approaches to social influence did not seem to work in this context. Indeed, preliminary discussions with livery yard members and those associated with the industry described livery yards as contexts where influence from others was a particular concern. As the thesis progressed it became apparent that despite the general complaint about influence in livery yards from liveries themselves – and also displayed in the equine press and on internet forums – people often struggled to give exact examples of what they meant by influence. This arguably alluded to the early conclusion that social influence might not occur in everyday lives in quite the simple and clear ways that people describe it when they discuss their experiences of livery yards in general.

This thesis then included an historical review of the social influence literature (Chapter 2). This historical review traced the origins of research and theory in the field of social influence and also traced some of the broader themes that affected how understandings of social influence have developed. This historical approach enabled a contextualization

of how social influence has been understood by psychologists at different times (such as the focus on military obedience post World War II). Moreover, it highlighted how the debate over what is and what is not 'scientific' shaped the development of research on social influence. It is argued that such approaches constructed social influence as an *object of study* in a very particular way, reflecting social influence fundamentally as an objectively observable process. Of course, the problem for social influence researchers was that any change of behaviour was not always objectively observable as such, methodological approaches had to be developed to elicit people's opinions. Multiple debates then arose around what might constitute a 'real' opinion. Such debates, which were effectively about the nature of social and psychological 'reality' have plagued social influence research, reflecting the problem of making sense of the constantly changing reality that is social life. Rather than seeking to 'solve' this problem and identify a singular truth, a social constructionist approach enables the researcher to accept that 'influence' is not a singular object of inquiry. Thus a discursive approach focuses on analysing what is said in a particular conversation and revealing how this functions in the immediate discursive context.

Chapter 2 also examined the significance of language in traditional approaches to social influence and the small number of researchers who have specifically focused on language and influence (including the work of Ng and Language Expectancy Theory, starting on page 50). Most importantly these studies emphasised the importance of language, both in terms of how strategies were produced and how people might expect to be influenced and how these expectations seemed to affect people's responses. It highlighted some of

the difficulties in terms of quantifying linguistic responses to influence strategies and how content analysis has offered one approach to examining language.

Developing the theme of language and influence, Chapter 3 argued that the role of social context and everyday language use requires further exploration. It introduced discursive approaches to the study of social psychology and showed how research on social influence could be enriched by this perspective. The chapter capitalized on the fact that we can now draw upon a well developed tradition of work on social constructionism which has included the development of the Discursive Action Model (Chapter 3 page 60) and it's now widely accepted functional approach to language use. This approach allowed the present research to develop beyond some of the restrictive parameters of earlier research methods. Such restrictions related to whether the study of naturalistic conversation could be considered valid in terms of what is or is not 'scientific' knowledge, which the development of discursive methods has now challenged. Further, this thesis also highlighted the ways in which discursive analysis itself has become particularly diverse and how its application to social psychology has evolved through a number of separate routes.

Chapter 3 suggested that the disparities in discursive approaches might be addressed through a synthetic approach to the analysis of the everyday interaction and discourses of influence. This synthetic approach drew from Conversation Analysis, Discursive Psychology and Critical Discursive Psychology. It was highlighted for example, that Conversation Analysis can reveal multiple and immediate different social actions and how

useful it can be to juxtapose this with the broader sense-making undertaken by individuals. That is, how people might respond rhetorically to larger cultural discourses and draw on these to position their own identities (drawing on Critical Discursive Psychology). This was particularly clear in studies of influence in organisations. The applied nature of these studies highlighted how findings need to make sense to the people in the industries that the research is targeted to help, that people make sense of these findings by describing phenomena (see Chapter 3, page 83). Thus discursive descriptions are important as a way of interpreting the research but this was also integrated with a detailed analysis of interactions, which was revealing in identifying how the described phenomena played out in everyday interactions. For instance, Larsson and Lundholm (Chapter 3, page 84) showed how influence strategies can be studied at the detailed level – typically how people use a strategy and mitigate this through politeness – but this is also related to the broader discourses, such as leadership identity which provides a framework for these strategies. Thus addressing social influence through a synthetic discursive approach enabled a broader insight into how people contextualise their interactions in both immediate and cultural discursive contexts.

Chapter 3 also highlighted the dearth of discursive research examining social influence (though for important exceptions see Gibson, 2011; Hepburn and Potter, 2011, Billig, 1987 and Larsson and Lundholm, 2010, as discussed in Chapter 3). It was suggested in Chapter 3 that one of the reasons for this might relate to the traditional conceptualisation of social influence as a process between people. From a discursive position, this arguably suggests that all interaction might be considered as influence. However, the journey that DP has taken through studies of advice giving has provided tools for distinguishing

influence at this level (see chapter 3, from page 78). This has culminated in Hepburn and Potter (2011b) being able to more clearly distinguish some of the different strategies (threats) that people have termed social influence from other forms of utterances.

Chapter 3 illustrated how far discursive approaches have come in providing better tools for analysing talk and highlighted how a more detailed analysis of social influence from a social constructionist epistemology was now timely.

Chapter 4 explained how this broad approach to the process of social influence formed a methodology that could address the research problem. It extended the philosophy of a synthetic approach to discourse analysis and then outlined a related discursive and ethnographic approach to data collection. This approach involved the collection of a considerable amount of data, over a long period of time (11 months) including naturalistic talk (over 200 hours), video data (20 hours), interviews, photographs and ethnographic notes and observations. It enabled access to the messy details of people's everyday lives and the forms of influence in which they routinely participate. It required me to spend considerable time with the same group of people and involved detailed observation of the everyday practices and relationships between different people within the participating livery yard. This enabled me to immerse myself in the data and to even take on different roles, spending time with staff, liveries and the yard owner. Cameras installed in various parts of the yard enabled me to capture events when I was not around. This method allowed the thesis to go beyond the constraints of working with social influence as an object of study in the traditional sense and to open the field to examine and explore the importance of how meanings are socially constructed and used by people as they interact.

Chapter 5 posed the first representation of the nature of social influence, which treated it as something that ordinary people orientate to in interaction. People sometimes react as if particular contexts are likely to generate opportunities for social influence (displaying an expectation of influence) but also distance themselves from negative associations with social influence. Chapter 5 suggested that what happens in this kind of practice is that people behave *as if* these meanings of influence exist and *as if* these have implications for how people relate to each other. Thus, the identification of an episode of talk as 'social influence' can be more difficult than is commonly assumed in traditional work on the topic (which often presupposes the existence of a self-evident source, message and discrete behavioural change).

This is a different representation of social influence from the process model of traditional approaches. Traditional approaches arguably restrict understanding by positing that complex inferences of what might be going on within the target's head are necessary to explain whether or not a person is influenced. By contrast, presenting influence as a social practice that participants construct and orientate to as they communicate turns influence into something that is enacted, owned and deliberated upon by participants themselves. This highlights the difficulties with the researcher specifying the nature of social influence *a priori* to conducting research. Instead, it highlights the importance of an analysis that can engage directly with participants' own understandings as they unfold within their everyday lives.

The notion of a priori definition of social influence is also interesting in terms of how the social practice of influence demonstrated in Chapter 5 (and additionally in later chapters) differed from the descriptions of social influence provided before the research was conducted and in the early period of the research. In early interviews descriptions of social influence in the livery yard included people suggesting that they had been told or advised what to do, which reflected more clearly the traditional descriptions of social influence found in research. This contrasted with actual practices, where it was not possible for the analyst to identify exactly where the influence might have happened, or all of the aspects of a 'process of influence'.

The findings from Chapter 5 further alter the understanding of social influence from an objective process; rather it is simultaneously the product and object of ordinary interaction – albeit a product and object that adds a particular type of meaning to interactions. Meanings that people invoked were often 'partial' for example, hints that influence might be relevant. This chapter highlighted how it is important to analyse these partial meanings, expanding the scope of what is considered as social influence so that research does not necessarily have to focus on social influence as a complete process. Thus potentially, concepts such as resistance to influence or compliance need to be understood as they are made relevant by participants in interactions and further, they might be partial, rather than clearly identified as resistance or compliance. Even when apparently complying with influence this approach highlights that this is unlikely to be 'blind conformity' but part of the negotiation of a complex discursive interaction.

Social influence can also be represented as a social practice, an idea explored in detail in Chapter 6. This way of presenting influence was illustrated through consideration of how indirect practices of influence can be acted out using a 'puzzle' format. In this sequence of interaction at a turn by turn level, people can be positioned as having problems and needing influence. Further it was observed that influence practices co-occurred with other social actions such as placing competence at stake. People appeared to impose their own personal orders on these sequences, protecting their stake in competence. These practices of influence showed how one social practice seems to be embedded within another, exemplifying how the discursive study of social influence can reveal how influence is interrelated with other practices. The issue of competence for example, seemed particularly related to participants avoiding taking up the position of being influenced. However, this was less pronounced when the influencee held an appropriate position of power in the social order of the yard. In this way it is possible to view social influence as something that is very much embedded in the negotiation of the social context.

Particular puzzles were also rehearsed within the yard. This rehearsal seemed to contribute to the construction of yard membership. Through the repetition and development of yard puzzles over time, yard members became familiar with these patterns of interaction which differentiated them from new or non yard members. This repetition contributed to the formation of groups and made it harder for newer group members to engage. This arguably presents a more nuanced understanding of how people might relate to groups from that of Social Identity Theory. Rather than focusing on how a person identified with the livery yard, it highlighted how their social practices

identified them as yard members. In this way, this thesis offers a challenge to the notion of identification in social identity theory and provides empirical evidence for the ways in which people learn and develop different repertoires of talk, that allow them to access different groups.

Notably, despite the puzzle sequence carrying the opportunity for influence, often the outcomes of these interactions were ambiguous, so that there was no clear agreement or disagreement between speakers. Previous research on advice giving has illustrated that this ambiguity can be particularly useful for speakers to save face. However arguably, in these situations there was no specific requirement for the influence recipient to produce either an agreement or disagreement to being influenced. Thus, future research might examine the difference between contexts where a decision is forced and those where it is not.

The final way that influence was represented was as a component of identity. Notably, some people are ascribed forms of identity that implicitly or explicitly accord them more influence than others. It was shown here that forms of influence such as decision making or advice giving are embedded within wider discourses related to social orders. For example, if someone is defined as the owner of the yard who is ultimately responsible for the welfare of animals, then this identity enables forms of influence that may be denied to individuals defined in other terms. Of course, this process is inherently dilemmatic— it gives legitimacy to certain practices of influence but also imposes an expectation of decision making and culpability. Relatedly, forms of influence opened up by identities

such as 'Livery owner' are not pre-given, fixed or unresisted. To the contrary, they are constantly negotiated at the micro level of talk, where followers are able to grant an entitlement to influence, but simultaneously maintain their own personal order and resist influence. Personal order, in this context of social influence, seemed to relate to participants' saving face for example, demonstrating and maintaining their own good level of competence in terms of equine knowledge, whilst negotiating practices of social influence. A further dilemma was that talk about leaders seemed to construct them as more influential and powerful when they were not there, but when leaders were present they had to work harder. Producing a person as a leader, then was not the same thing as doing what that person said. Leadership seemed to carry an order of authority and to be important for the overall discourse of the yard, but in the details of interaction again, individual identities were important to uphold. This also potentially has implications for leadership research, which often has focused on descriptions of leadership styles and approaches (Chapter 7, page 196) and illustrates how this focus might not provide enough detail to be helpful in an applied sense, where on a day to day basis people might act in different ways.

When influence is represented in terms of influential identities, challenges are made to the ways in which talk about livery yards may or may not describe the practices that actually go on within livery yards. Discourses of livery yards that suggest a livery yard hell, also imply that the majority of people are somehow susceptible to these particular difficulties, that somehow people are being oppressed by the bitchy few who are ready to denigrate 'us', the 'normal' people who simply want to enjoy their animals. However, this analysis suggested that all people are a part of producing the social order of the yard. All

yard members took part in the process of giving people power to speak and act through how they interact. Thus contexts are co-constructed.

Implications of a discursive approach to social influence

The importance of language in social influence is not a new assertion, as noted in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, the more recent progress in understanding how language works generally, as outlined in Chapter 3, provided a more developed methodology to examine language and social influence in more detail. The implications of this language based approach question how social psychology might be defined and extend how current themes in social influence research might be addressed. Here, two examples of such themes are considered; the question of context and the question of personal awareness of influence can be better understood.

Taking a discursive approach to social influence has enabled greater reflection on the meanings of social influence and in turn, its definition. This includes those meanings imposed by researchers when studying social influence. A social constructionist approach considers how these definitions themselves generate meanings and are tied to the meanings available to researchers. Thus any good social psychologist will inevitably review the literature and use this to explore the phenomena under study. It is not suggested that this should not be done but, rather a reflection on where and when these discourses come from helps to highlight how some research might be more or less relevant to the current area of study. In this way, traditional approaches make *a priori* assumptions of what influence is. In contrast, a discursive approach emphasises how these meanings might be re-constructed and changed in people's everyday interactions.

Thus researchers might pay greater attention to the aspect of social influence that they are studying, and be reflective of how this is constructed in any particular context. Further, questions around where these definitions originate from, and whose project they might serve should also be considered. For example, it is questionable as to whether a definition produced by social psychology for social psychologists is of less relevance to everyday people. A discursive approach to social influence gives greater weight to the meanings of social influence and how people themselves create and use these through their language and social practices.

The effects of this re-focus of social influence as a linguistic practice are easily illustrated. For example, Chapter 2 highlighted how some psychologists have sought to put the puzzle of social influence together, with the longer term aim to integrate it into one mathematical model (e.g. the Social Context Response Model and Social Impact Theory, see chapter 2, pages 44 and 46). As part of this project, the Social Context Response Model identifies the multiple different forms of response that people might have to conformity. However, the current research shows how viewing language as functional expands how we can understand these responses. In everyday interactions people's responses to influence attempts do not just reflect differences in responses related to social influence; they also are embedded into the discursive context in which they are acting. This discursive context might involve numerous discursive actions simultaneously for example, concerns around displaying their personal competence, or using compliance with one request to resist another (see chapter 6). Further, the delicacy with which people respond might relate to maintaining friendships or the social order of the current context (Chapter 5). Thus this discursive perspective suggests that a meaningful understanding of social influence (to participants) in everyday interactions needs to

reflect how and why people invoke particular meanings that are related to social influence. Indeed, influence can be considered as an interactional accomplishment, as something that is negotiated through discourse and in social interaction and further, is part of an on-going negotiation.

A further theme that was identified in Chapter 2 was that social influence can often be treated as something that happens to unwitting individuals (See Lauren's comment on the master→slave relationship between the influencer and the influencee (Chapter 2, page 33)). This has been accounted for in persuasion research (e.g. the Elaboration Likelihood Model (see page 42) by cognitive factors such as a person's knowledge about, attention on and interest in the persuasive message. However, the assumption of naivety in the person being influenced is being challenged and more recently, issues such as self belief have also been added to this list (Petty and Brinol (2008) among others (see page 48) to explain why people conform to things that they might not believe in. Other explanations have included the desire to be accepted by the group, or to follow social norms. However, in analysing everyday interactions it becomes possible to explore in greater detail the ambiguity of this situation. Chapter 5 showed how people orientated to the possibilities of influence and even when they changed their position, this occurred with an apparent reflexive awareness that could be seen in how they displayed their positions. Thus this discursive approach enabled a greater realisation of the delicacy of social influence situations and enables the researcher to consider participants as considerably more active in practices relating to social influence, even if they eventually concede to another's opinion. This arguably contributes to addressing what Larsson and Lundholm (2010, see pages 84 and 196) have highlighted as a key difficulty in research on

organisations where the direct application of a particular influence strategy is not always effective. Taking a discursive approach here, it was possible to show how people were invested in particular interactions and this contributed to whether a person took up a position of being influenced or not.

Finally, the more recent emphasis on developing understandings of how context is relevant for social influence is also developed through the application of a discursive approach to social influence. As described in Chapter 2, context has become increasingly difficult for researchers to accommodate, potentially because it encompasses so many dimensions. Some research has focused on group affiliation as being central (e.g. in Social Identity Theory), but this has been argued as not strong enough to reflect the immediate situation that the person finds themselves in (Chapter 2, page 50). Others have focused their research on social norms and identifying different types of norms (local, cultural etc.) (page 46). In more mathematical models, context has included the numbers of people within the group (e.g. in Social Impact Theory and Minority Influence theories (page 44). The advantages provided by a discursive study of social influence are that it is not essential to break these different conceptualisations of context down in these ways in order to study them and to isolate or focus only on one element of context. Rather, the focus on language use and a combined method of conversation analysis, rhetorical analysis, consideration of subject positions and discursive repertoires produces a methodology that allows the analyst to focus on the elements of context that participants make relevant at particular junctures. For example in the construction of an influential identity in Chapter 7, it was possible to see how some of the phrases and discourses used by the yard owner reflected the broader equine discourses described in influential government papers (page 179). The exploration of discourse over a period of time

enabled a clearer insight into the ways that the unique interactional context of this particular livery yard was generated over time, as people repeated particular phrases and developed and extended yard discourses (Chapter 6, page 164).

A discursive approach to social influence allows empirically grounded research – research that is directly evidenced by what actually happens in people’s lives rather than in situations that might be set up for research purposes – that is able to expand the understanding of what social influence actually means for people in their everyday lives.

Methodological Reflections

In addition to *representing* social influence, this thesis offered a new methodological approach to the exploration of social influence as a concept. Not only did it employ a discursive methodology, which few studies have previously done but it combined ethnographic and discursive psychology approaches to inform the collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

The combination of ethnographic and discursive approaches was a particular strength. It enabled a degree of confidence that the data collected was relevant to people’s everyday experiences. Thus, whereas CA and DP derivatives of CA strive to collect naturalistic data, the choice of data to collect is often of a more restricted time period or an isolated part of the day or practice. For example, in Hepburn and Potter’s study of threats the context of breakfast discussions was the main focus. However, the use of an ethnographic approach enabled me as a researcher to immerse myself in the world of the livery yard more generally and to use a broader range of data, including notes derived from personal experiences around which events were most important for participants and relevant to

the research. The scope of this approach further benefited from the collection of the data over a period of many months, where the same people were heard interacting on multiple occasions. This made it possible to follow up different conversations about the same topics, held at different times, and to capture events and interactions that might not initially have been considered as relevant to specific events of influence. Thus, although ethnographic methods are more time consuming they have allowed a valuable contribution to understanding social influence here.

The use of ethnographic methods and combination of data collected also allowed reflection on similarities between different data types. For example, it highlighted how some discussions where people were talking about key issues for the yard were very similar to some of the interview data. This illustrated how multiple types of talk were important, including both talk about events and interactions while these events were on-going. The similarities and differences between interview and naturalistic data were important in examining the repertoires used to explain or discuss different elements of social influence, particularly in understanding how leadership worked in the yard. However, the differences were also particularly revealing in the sense that sometimes the ways that influence was described in the yard was quite different from what was observed in the details of naturalistic interactions, for example the deletion of the amount of resistance that people engaged in. This difference between talk about influence and influence in practice served to illuminate the value of both. Particularly, for example in terms of how Zara the yard owner was talked about in her absence made her quite powerful whereas when she was involved in interactions she needed to work

harder. Thus to understand the context of the yard, and the ways that people ascribe and enact meanings it was beneficial to consider both forms of data.

The challenges of selecting data were inevitably managed through the subjective nature of the data collection. Although data were presented at several research groups and discussed with supervisors, inevitably the selection of particular episodes to present and the bulk of the analysis relied on my personal judgement. Rather than avoid this as a concern, I attempted to exploit it by conducting analysis at different points in the research (during data collection, immediately after data collection, and indeed, up to 3 years later). At these different points I was able to offer different levels of distance to the data in terms of my emotional attachment to yard members. Further, I was able to view the data from different time points of the research journey – at points when my reading was focusing on different aspects of social influence, and when I was only focusing on analysis. This added different perspectives. In addition, this research approach allowed me to view myself as participant observer in multiple ways. It was particularly revealing, for example, noting that even in the initial period when I worked hard to be a ‘neutral presence’ I frequently aligned with some yard members more than others in interactions.

Synthesising different discursive approaches as suggested in Chapter 4, brought its own issues such as, where to start the analysis and whether to prioritise different data forms, or different forms of analysis. Nevertheless, the approach was successful in that it allowed a focus on both the fine details of interaction, while maintaining an awareness of the broader power structures present within the livery yard. Indeed, a key

methodological difficulty for addressing social influence identified in chapter 4, was the development of an approach that could adhere to the principles of social constructionism and could examine the relevant language use in social influence practices in a way that was more than just as influence strategies, as they have traditionally been conceived. With this in mind, the synthetic approach taken was particularly beneficial, rather than applying CA, DP or CDP alone. For example, one of the key concerns raised regarding CA is that it runs the risk of simply identifying patterns that people will then assume are fixed patterns of interaction. Thus in terms of social influence, this means identifying those strategies of influence that are more or less successful. Applying a synthetic approach enabled the researcher to maintain a perspective that saw these practices as tied to simultaneous rhetorical functions of language and to deal with the meanings that people were making relevant, such as personal investment. Thus where Hepburn and Potter were able to explore the differing constructions of and related responses to threats, this study was additionally able to contextualise such practices within the broader discursive context of the livery yard.

Future Directions

This thesis continues the discursive psychology project of re-specifying social psychology, focusing on social influence. It begins to consider social influence not as how it might be acted out (as Billig (1987/1999), and Hepburn and Potter (2011a) have considered), or as an expansion / critique of some of the classical experiments already considered (Gibson, 2011) but, to ask the more fundamental question of how social constructionist psychologists should understand social influence, what the nature of influence itself is. This inevitably is a large project and the development of a discursive concept of social

influence represents a first step in a long journey to take forward and consider the implications and use of social influence within modern day society. This project is no longer at the beginning and now has a broad framework from which to develop further research in this area; the importance of examining the multiple meanings of social influence, of recovering how people themselves make sense of varying forms of 'influence', and to explore how these meanings are used and interpreted in life. Future research should be cautious about claiming to study social influence as a process, as this may obscure different meanings of social influence and/or cover up the ways in which people use and relate to ideas of social influence.

Here a number of future steps for research are suggested that might further this project within this framework.

Firstly, the current thesis focused on a very specific context and subsequent research might explore the different meanings that are constructed around the notion of social influence in different contexts, such as in schools, or in larger commercial organisations. Exploring different contexts might provide the opportunity to compare the different ways in which discursive resources operate, whether there are similar resources that work in similar ways, for example. The selection of these contexts will be important in order to maintain the focus on a form of social influence that people experience as part of their everyday lives, rather than on exceptional events. This could subsequently be compared with similar forms of analysis on more extreme cases of social influence to consider the

similarities and differences of such approaches, or whether these are constructed by individuals as in some way different or more exceptional.

Further work on social influence might also consider how social influence researchers themselves describe their work and how they construct it as relevant to people's everyday lives, for example in terms of which social problem they are addressing. This could be compared with the ways that people living and working in contexts other than psychology, value or describe social influence, examining what it means for people generally and why it is socially so important. This could contribute to setting new priorities for research that are more in line with the priorities and concerns of people in their everyday lives.

Though the analysis of everyday discourse has provided a range of further insights and alternative perspectives into how social influence might be conceptualised, this project has used a relatively restricted notion of the concept of discourse. It has included texts of different types (written contracts, internet forum data, and magazine representations), but the central data analysis focused on conversational and interactional texts.

Subsequent research might seek to develop the use of these alternative texts. Further, with the development of qualitative research methods, it is also possible that social influence could be analysed through other forms of communication, such as graphical representations – the use of logos, or use of space by people, in order to further explore the complexity of common features of social life. For example, this study has examined in detail audio communication and made only passing reference to where different owner's

horses were located in the yard (some being further away than others from the main social spaces). It has not considered the ways in which different liveries, staff and the yard owner dressed – for example some had bought jackets or numnahs¹⁸ with the logo of the yard on - likely to be relevant to the ways in which the group formed.

Finally, although this thesis focused on social influence, it also makes a methodological contribution and outlines a methodology that could be applied to other settings. For example more broadly, many social researchers in healthcare are looking for methods that are able to not just reflect the immediate interactional nature of social interactions, but also reflect the broader political contexts of healthcare systems. This synthetic approach offers a method of doing just this, transcending the immediate interaction to accessing the broader social themes that frequently interest funders. Further, it is argued that despite the focus of discursive psychology increasingly on conversation analysis approaches, the problem with this line of research is that it often uses complex technical language to describe phenomena which might have less meaning for organisations interested in discursive research. Thus in order to keep research accessible it is important that discursive approaches do not themselves end up becoming more removed from people as they become more technical. Those seeking to conduct research in more applied situations such as livery yard organisations, may benefit from a synthetic approach such as this, which is able to accommodate both the technical detail, and the complexities of broader organisational discourses, to consider how individuals place themselves and are placed in both realms of discourse.

¹⁸ A numnah is a cloth that sits under the saddle. Logo's are placed where they can be seen by others.

We are left with an exciting new step forward into an as yet underdeveloped field of understanding social influence through a social constructionist approach. This thesis has demonstrated the clear insights that a synthetic approach to discourse can have in terms of revealing the complexities of human social relations. Further it has shown how psychological phenomena described as processes such as social influence can still usefully be considered as social descriptions that are produced for people and used in everyday interactions. Thus that uncomfortable notion of persuasion to do something against our will that we describe can be considered as co-constructed by us as we seek to reconcile our own personal order with the social and economic orders that we exist in.

This thesis reminds social psychologists that not only are the extremes of social influence such as obedience in war crime situations important for study, but also people's mundane practices of influence in everyday situations.

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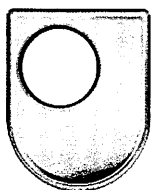
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Appendix 1 Ethical Approval



From John Oates
Chair, The Open University Human Participants and
Materials Research Ethics Committee
Research School
Email j.m.oates@open.ac.uk
Extension 52395

To Cordet Smart, Research Student, Psychology, Faculty of
Social Science

Subject Interrogating Social Influence: A discursive analysis of life
in the livery yard

Ref HPMEC/2009/#560/1
Date 12 June 2009

Memorandum

This memorandum is to confirm that the research protocol for the above-named research project, as submitted on 26th May 2009 is approved by the Open University Human Participants and Materials Ethics Committee, subject to satisfactory responses to the following:

You are asked to:

1. Note that a proportion of potential participants whom you approach may not consent, hence you will not be able to obtain your stated aim of interviewing 'all' in each setting;
2. Clarify the distinction between 'horse owners' and 'members';
3. Consider whether bias may be introduced into your data in respect of:
staff being interviewed on work premises and in working hours;
your own horse ownership; offering the incentive of 'assistance with yard jobs';
4. Confirm that you will comply with Open University requirements regarding data security (attached). Note that storage in a locked room is insufficient for identifiable data;
5. Consider whether any risks arise from the difficulty in fully anonymising qualitative data gathered in small close-knit communities;
6. Avoid interviewing participants in their own homes;
7. Word a revised consent form and information sheet for children in age-appropriate language.

At the conclusion of your project, by the date that you stated in your application, the Committee would like to receive a summary report on the progress of this project, any ethical issues that have arisen and how they have been dealt with.

John Oates

Chair, OU HPMEC

Appendix 2 Participant Information

Communication in Livery Yards: Information Sheet



Why is the research being conducted?

This research forms part of my part time PhD project with the Open University, under the supervision of Professor M Wetherell and Dr. J. Byford.

What is the research about?

I am a long term horse owner, and over my life have spent a considerable amount of time in and around livery yards in various different roles. Through this time, I have become particularly interested in communications in livery yards, and am now hoping to explore this by engaging in this research project.

What would participation involve?

I am seeking the permission of livery yard owners and horse owners to spend time talking to them. I would like the opportunity to spend time in the yard, talking and listening to people in the yard, and become involved in the everyday routines of the yard, observing social interactions. Later in the research, if it is convenient, I might ask people to take part in interviews. It does not matter how large or small the yard is, or how formal or informal its organisation—perhaps you just share a field, or are part of a large commercial yard—if you are interested then do get in touch.

What would I get out of participating?

The research provides an opportunity to talk through ideas and thoughts about horse care and communication. In return I could also offer assistance with yard jobs, should that be helpful,



How will my data be used and who will have access to the data?

All data obtained would remain anonymous, so that it is not traceable to you. Data will be discussed with my academic supervisors and other academics. It will eventually be written up as a part of my PhD thesis, and possibly included in academic publications that arise out of this. A brief report of the findings will also be made available to participants, representing an amalgamation of findings from the research.

What if I change my mind after agreeing?

If you agree to take part you can change your mind at any stage, and any data you do not want held will be destroyed.

Cordée Smart

Phone: 07928933282

Email: cas289@student.open.ac.uk

Communications in

If you are interested in having a chat about the research, would like to participate, or have any questions or queries at all then please do not hesitate to get in touch, either by email or phone,

I look forward to hearing from you,

Best Wishes,

Cordet



Cordet Smart

Livery Yard
Research

*Do you own a livery yard?
Do you keep a horse at livery?
Would you like to talk about it?*



Cordet Smart

**Research student with:
The Open University**

Phone: 07928933282

Email: me7900@studant.open.ac.uk



Appendix 3 Consent Forms

Wednesday, 29 January

2014

Consent Form: Horse Owners

Title of Project: Communication in Livery Yards

Name of Researcher: Cordet Smart

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw them at any time without giving reason, without my legal rights being affected.

☐

3. I agree to the researcher observing me and taking notes in the livery yard, and at times conversations with the researcher being audiotaped with verbal consent.

☐

4. I agree to my conversations with other people at the yard being audio and sometimes videotaped. I understand that the researcher will ask for my verbal permission before doing this.

☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study

☐

Name of Participant
Signature

Date

Name of Researcher
Signature

Date

Wednesday, 29 January

2014

Consent Form: Yard Owners

Title of Project: Communication in Livery Yards

Name of Researcher: Cordet Smart

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw them at any time without giving reason, without my legal rights being affected.

☐

3. I agree to the researcher observing me and taking notes in the livery yard, and at times conversations with the researcher being audiotaped with verbal consent.

☐

4. I agree to my conversations with other people at the yard being audio and sometimes videotaped. I understand that the researcher will ask for my verbal permission before doing this.

☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study

☐

Name of Participant
Signature

Date

Name of Researcher
Signature

Date

Wednesday, 29 January

2014

Consent Form: Yard Visitors
Title of Project: Communication in Livery Yards
Name of Researcher: Cordet Smart

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw them at any time without giving reason, without my legal rights being affected.
3. I agree to the researcher observing me and taking notes in the livery yard, and at times conversations with the researcher being audiotaped with verbal consent.
4. I agree to my conversations with other people at the yard being audio and sometimes videotaped. I understand that the researcher will ask for my verbal permission before doing this.
5. I agree to take part in the above study

Name of Participant
Signature

Date

Name of Researcher
Signature

Date

Cordet Smart, Research Student
Psychology Department
Faculty of social sciences
Walton Hall
Milton keynes
Tel:
Email: cas289@student.open.ac.uk

Wednesday, 29 January

2014
Consent Form: Young People
Title of Project: Communication in Livery Yards
Name of Researcher: Cordet Smart

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw them at any time without giving reason, without my legal rights being affected.

☐
3. I agree to the researcher observing me and taking notes in the livery yard, and at times conversations with the researcher being audiotaped with verbal consent.

☐
4. I agree to my conversations with other people at the yard being audio and sometimes videotaped. I understand that the researcher will ask for my verbal permission before doing this.

☐
5. I agree to take part in the above study

☐

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	
Signature		
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Date	
Signature		

Psychology Department

Wednesday, 29 January 2014

Consent Form: Parent/Guardian/ Legal Carer
Title of Project: Communication in Livery Yards
Name of Researcher: Cordet Smart

Name of Young Person:

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

2. I understand that's participation is entirely voluntary and that they are free to withdraw them at any time without giving reason, without any legal rights being affected.

☐

3. I agree to the researcher observing and taking notes in the livery yard, and at times conversations with the researcher being audiotaped with verbal consent from

☐

4. I agree tos conversations with other people at the yard being audio and sometimes videotaped. I understand that the researcher will ask for's verbal permission before doing this.

☐

5. I agree for to take part in the above study

☐

Name of Parent/Guardian
Signature

Date

Name of Researcher
Signature

Date

Appendix 4 Jeffersonian Transcription

Originally developed by Gail Jefferson. Amalgamated and adapted from Hepburn and Potter (2009); Jefferson (1984) and Hutchby and Wooffitt, (2002, ppvi-vii) and Wooffitt (2005).

(0.5)	Number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in brackets indicates a pause in the talk of less than two-tenths of a second.
=	Equals' sign indicates 'latching' between utterances, that is one utterance follows immediately from the last.
I [see] [see]	Square brackets are used to show where talk overlaps, these are aligned to show where overlap starts and finishes.
(())	A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity. In this thesis a photograph is often used.
Hhh	Out-breath.
.hhh	In-breath.
-	A dash indicates the sharp cut-off of the prior sound or word.
:	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter.
(inaudible)	Indicates speech that is difficult to make out. Details may also be given with regards to the nature of this speech (eg. shouting).
.	A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. It does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence.
,	Slight fall in tone – to a lesser level than a full stop.
?	A question mark indicates a rising inflection. It does not necessarily indicate a question.
↑↓	Pointed arrows indicate a marked falling or rising intonational shift. They are placed immediately before the onset of the shift.
—	Flat tone, often at the end of an utterance, that does not rise or fall.

<u>Under</u>	Underlined fragments indicate louder speech.
CAPITALS	Words in capitals mark a section of speech noticeably louder than surrounding speech, and louder than underlined talk.
° °	Degree signs are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk.
< >	'Less than' and 'More than' are used to enclose talk that is slower than the surrounding talk. Where these face the other way, they denote faster talk.
*	Squeaky voice.
£	A smiley voice – where someone sounds as if they might be about to laugh.
Ha he	Transcribed laughter.
We(h)ll	(h) signifies laughter within speech.
~	Wobbly voice, where someone sounds as if they are holding back tears.

Appendix 5 Discussion of Dobin's illness – Transcript for chapter 5

Key to speakers:

J – Josephine

K – Karen

P – Pat

C – Cordet

1. J He'll be alright with a haynet keep him you know,
2. K What about the, purple one.
3. You wanta see the next,
4. J .<thats right yea:
5. K episode
6. (1.3)
7. C Wha whats
8. K We are a bit unsu:re about him at the moment
9. °he sort of° displayed
10. em .hh some discomfort in his .hh side
11. C ↑mmm
12. (um b) swishy tail
13. (.2)
14. K e[mm
15. J [I thought he'd been bitten cause he kept sort of
16. s:swinging round tohi >I dnnow<
17. K ↑↑mnyea!
18. J I just didn't think of colic because it didn't appear
19. like th:at. ↑You were there when (.) Dan was
20. sordof thrashing about [and he sorta
21. P [↑Yea] isss odd wanit
22. J mmm,
23. P like he'd been bitten like you said=
24. J =I just thought he'd been bitten [(°nn°)
25. P [yeah
26. K .<See la:↓st week last Friday he came out of the stab:le,
27. tacked up I was just about to go:o and then he just (.) lld
28. did lo:ads of little bunny hops here (.) as he came out
29. reall discomfort and Zoe an:d (.) Di >I think it was<
30. cam:e straight down because it was not like [him
31. P [No,
32. K and then once he settled then I saw this little bug thing

33. it like leapt on to him, went in between his coat and then must
34. havfe .hhh bitten him, I managed to get it whatever it was_
35. P mmm ↑°I wonder what [that was°
36. K [identified it but there must be some
37. around at the moment that are .hhh aren't very nice
38. P No,
39. K And he is quite sensitive that [(way)well they are aren't
40. they em
41. J [That's right
42. J As I say t to m:e, I always thought that he had been bitten.
43. K Yea (.) yea because if he hadn't displayed the symptoms
44. before but then he'd just eaten, which if he can't pass at
45. the moment then that's gonn:a discomfort him more isn't it
46. [but he needs t]
47. J [yea]He hasn't passed any motions this morning
48. so that's=
49. C =Nothing, [over night
50. J [()Well overnight he has but normally he does
51. (.)
52. K (£He's frequently much£)
53. K [a ha ha ha↑
54. P [mu hu
55. C [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
56. J [Oh no he d ()
57. K but he always he doesn't tend to want to urinate in his box
58. he'd rather go outside so he does hold it so sometimes
59. its impatience in the morning because he needs
60. a wee [hu
61. C [mmm m
62. K em
63. (.)
64. P °seems ok at the moment [though°
65. C [yes he does
66. K Cause I just we just went to do .hh cause sometimes on the
67. way to the field he'll stop and do one cause I guarantee he'll
68. do one there, I went to take him .hh and then he didn't
69. and then suddenly I could see this episode of his
70. si:de hh brewing up he was swishy tailed and like really,
71. [really going for it=
72. C [omm
73. P [yea yea quite
74. J =Yea the trouble if something in him really
75. (.)

76. J (°he's not colicky is he?°)
 77. K And you don't know the beginning of it do [you really sort
 78. of em (.) [he's not sort of stamping but em
 79. J [no
 80. C [he wan't kicking
 81. C yea he wasn't yea stamping [and kicking

 82. K [no you know like when [Fly
 83. had it she it was up to her
 84. C [mmm
 85. K [tummy and and her hind legs [kicking her stomach
 86. [hh ut as well but I suppose it depends where the .hh block is
 87. C [mmm
 88. J [(°she was doing all sorts of
 89. things°) yea Yeah] Yeah
 90. C Can you hear, his his [(.)his movements?
 91. J [Ah >°I hadn't thought about that°<

 92. (.)
 93. J He seemed to have >sort of< calmed down once I put the
 94. Head collar on and I was rubbing where I thought
 95. he'd been bitten you s[ee,
 96. K [mm
 97. J and I was smoothing all tha:t (.) and then he,
 98. and then he was alright: then
 99. K but perhaps now it might b you know if we just keep an eye on
 100. it a it but now it might be like memory if he had been bitten
 101. he might just sort of be
 102. still like annoyed with [it you know

 103. C [()
 104. J [well it can itch
 105. C aha
 106. P once you've been bitten °it can itch°
 107. C mmm
 108. K Well he's not as violent now=was it only one time
 109. you saw him doing it
 110. J No a couple of times
 111. P Just a couple of times, he did it and I thought he just kicked
 112. the box
 113. K mm
 114. P but then you said oh I think he's been bitten
 115. and he just did it again didn't he=
 116. J =Yeah

117.K I think what I am going to do:0, is I'll give him some more to
 118. munch perhaps then
 119.J yea
 120.K an just see (.) what happens then, or do you think
 121. that's not right
 122.(.)
 123.J Where's Zara
 124.P Indoors
 125.J I wonder if she's got liquid paraffin
 126.K so you think
 127.J [I mean that won't harm
 128.K [just do do that first
 129.J [If he's playing up even if it's not colicky or anything
 130. that won't harm him will him you just got to get it out really
 131.K [yeah yeah no it gives him a yea
 132.C Epson salts or something like that just n case better to ()
 133.K Yeah yeah yeah
 134.J Oh em I mean I do' we don't know that would be compounding it
 135. won't it [he has something to eat]
 136.K [ye yea yea]yes
 137.J ()
 138.C but he has eaten
 139.J >He's eaten yea he's eaten< I mean I just put (.)
 140. quarter of a haynet
 141.C and he et it
 142.J whilst I was mucking him out
 143.K it's still bothering him cause he's just a bit touchy
 144.J yea
 145.K but it's not
 146.(.)
 147.C he's not sweated though or hot is he?
 148.K no
 149.J no
 150.P I mean he looks alright donne
 151.C hh ye.
 152.P He doesn't **look** like there's anything wrong.
 153.(.)
 154.J See if you can get liquid paraffin off Zoe if not you'll have
 155. to go nto [town] or or
 156.K (OK then Pat)
 157.J er
 158.C mm=
 159.J =its something we ought to keep really ()

160.P [I expect she'll have
161.J [always used to have bran, and then when, we never used n
162. it it used to go all mouldy so we [throw it away
163.C [Yea laugh
164.J and () anymore and that was it
165.J but I've always had ran never used it and end up
166. throwing it away
167.CS Yea ha ha